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### MISCELLANEOUS.

—449—

#### General Summary.

No Ships having yet arrived from England of a later date than May, we are still unable to offer any News of particular interest or importance from Europe; but have taken occasion to include in our present number, a more full Report than that already published in our pages, on Mr. Lennard's Motion for a Committee to enquire into a certain branch of the Civil List, relating chiefly to the expences of Ambassadors and Foreign Missions. It adds another proof to the many thousands already given by Ministers, of "the benefit of the governed" not being their principle of rule; and if such Debates and such Divisions do not convince the people of England of the necessity of a Reform in that Parliament in which their interests seem to be the last consideration, we may safely say that if one rose from the dead they would not believe. As progressive steps to that great consummation not only "devoutly to be wished," but sure of being accomplished, the agitation of such questions must do good;—and tedious as they may be to read here, they cannot fail to produce their effect at home, which is more than sufficient to make us feel a deep interest in their issue.

Through the kindness of an Editorial Friend, we have it in our power to give a revised and corrected Report of the animated and patriotic Speech of Sir Francis Macnaghten, at the Meeting held on Wednesday at the Town Hall, which will be read, we are persuaded, with general pleasure, and produce the best effect in aid of the benevolent purpose to which it is directed.

We are happy to learn that considerable progress is making in the laudable work of Subscription for the distressed Irish. The different Banking and Agency Houses in Town are open to receive the smallest Contributions, and zealous in the good work. Such Lists of Subscribers as we may be favored with, we shall not fail to publish forthwith,—and gladly offer ourselves as the medium of conveying to the Treasurers every contribution that may be sent from other quarters.

As connected with this subject, we cannot do better than follow up our remarks with those of a late London Paper, of the 20th of May.

*Distress of the Irish.*—It affords us a very sincere satisfaction that the heavy degree of distress of the Irish poor has excited the warmest and most generous sympathy of every class amongst us; and that every society, club, public dinner, and almost every private assembly, are adding their subscriptions to the public fund raising in the City of London in relief of their distressed fellow citizens. On this night (Saturday), and we believe on Monday, the two National Theatres are giving the profits of their houses to this fund; and the example will doubtless be followed by every provincial theatre and place of amusement in the kingdom. It is this extent of private charity which has rendered the reputation of this Empire what it is abroad. In no kingdom in the world is man, in the language of the poet, so valued by his fellow men! When the Emperor Alexander had been travelling about two hundred miles through England, he observed to an English gentleman in his company, "I have now seen every thing in your country but your poor—where are they, my Lord?" The Emperor might perhaps say this with some reason as to England, but

we imagine that he would not ask the same question if he were now to take a morning's ride from Dublin. Every account, public as well as private, concurs in the statement of this distress, and our own private accounts add the further circumstance, that not only in Cork, Limerick, &c. but that the general condition of the Irish poor is that of extreme misery. A gentleman, just returned from Dublin, has stated to us, only within a few hours, that he there witnessed, in the course of the week just now expiring, such scenes of distress and misery, as would have excited almost a panic horror in England. Young men and women of eighteen years and upwards, and not in single cases, but in troops, almost uncovered; and in such a general state of rags, misery, and indecent exposure, as almost to strike terror into the eyes of an Englishman.

The first question asked by every one under such circumstances, is,—what is the cause of so much misery? What can occasion such a degree of distress in a country blessed with such fertility? We fear the answer is too prominent upon the very face of Irish society. The undoubted evil of the country is in its excessive population, so infinitely beyond the demand of agriculture and manufacture to employ. The cause of this excessive population is in the wretched system adopted by absentee landlords; that of letting their lands to middle-men, who subdivide them into small patches, and then re-let them to the peasantry at enormous rents. Mr. Plunkett, the Attorney-General of Ireland, stated in one of his speeches, that small portions of land, not exceeding half an acre, are let as high as five pounds per annum; and that the general rent of even ordinary land let for potatoes is from seven pounds to ten pounds yearly. Mr. Martin, of Galway, confirmed this statement, and added an anecdote of his own experience, still further illustrating this abominable system. He stated, that one of his friends was travelling along the road in a remote part of Ireland, when a poor, miserable, ragged wretch, issuing from a mud cabin by the side of the road, ran up to him, and put ten shillings into his hand, exclaiming, "here it is, Sir,"—"What is this for," demanded the gentleman? "It is my rent," replied the poor object. "For a potatoe field, I suppose," added the gentleman? "No, Sir, for that mud cabin by the side of this ditch—I have no potatoe land." "Then how do you make your rent?" "I make it by begging, Sir,"—Your honor's agent knows that I live by the road side, and he said he should fix me at ten shillings a-year rent, because he knew I could make that by begging."

In such a state of society, and amidst such landlords, or rather such agents, is it a matter of any unreasonable surprise that the Irish poor should be in the state described, and that every year they should grow from bad to worse? As they must consume the whole of their potatoe crop in the support of their numerous family, they have no means of raising the five pounds per annum rent, but from the produce of their daily labour; and in no part of Ireland, under the active competition of her excessive population, is there more than three day's work out of the week to be procured; and happy are those who can obtain this. Six or seven pounds per year is, therefore, the utmost of their possible earnings, wages not exceeding ten-pence per day. All kind of clothing is therefore, entirely out of the question, and accordingly such scenes are exhibited in the remote parts of Ireland as are not to be equalled in any part of the world. In their habi-

tations there is no such thing as any local separation of the sexes, and it redounds greatly to the honour of the national character, that, under such circumstances, there is so much virtue as there certainly is amongst the lower order of Irish females. The truth is that they are naturally a good and honest people, and they deserve every thing that England can do for them.

We cannot conclude these observations without an earnest call upon our readers and our countrymen in general, to contribute their portion towards the general subscription now proceeding, and therein to assist in saving the lives of thousands, who without such assistance must unquestionably perish in the roads and fields. It is not in the power of Government to administer the whole of this relief, because Ministers themselves have no means of raising the money; nor can they be justified, however urgent the occasion, in giving to one portion of the people at the expense of the other. Much therefore must be left to private charity, and we trust that this appeal will never be made to Englishmen in vain.—*Bell's Weekly Messenger*.

**Distress in Ireland.**—A public meeting of the inhabitants of Sheffield is to take place this day; and a similar one at Hereford to-morrow.

The Bath Knot of Friendly Brothers of St. Patrick have subscribed 114*l*. 6*s*. The subscription list at Bath exhibits numerous liberal donations.

Most of the banking firms at Liverpool have subscribed 100*l*. each. Of the individual donations registered on the day of the opening of the list, not one is under 20*l*. The total amount on Tuesday, was 1, 600*l*.

**Portsmouth.**—At a Meeting held yesterday, at which the Mayor, James Carter, Esq. presided, 300*l*. were immediately put down, exclusive of the donations of one day's pay from the Officers and Seamen of the QUEEN CHARLOTTE, ALBION, RAMILIES, APOLLO, GRASSHOPPER, PIGMY, RANGER, STARLING, and ARAB, and from the Officers and Soldiers of the Provisional Battalion of the Royal Artillery, Royal Engineers, Sappers and Miners, and the Royal Marines.

The following details are from the Irish Papers received this morning :—

The Mayor of Limerick has received letters from mercantile houses in London, stating their readiness to supply this market with any quantity of potatoes which may be required.

Government have purchased one thousand tons of potatoes at Leith, for three half-pence per stone, to be sent to Glasgow, and from thence to Dublin, where they are to be put on board Canal boats and forwarded to this City, and other parts of the south; and should an equal quantity be required in addition thereto, it will be furnished. To such as have not the means of paying for them, they will be delivered gratis. This ready supply, it is to be hoped, will have the effect of counteracting monopolists, who may have taken advantage of the present distresses to enhance the prices of provisions, and thereby acquire profit at the expense of public misery.

In the County of Clare great exertions have been made to supply the poor with food. Major Warburton is indefatigable in his endeavours to promote a subscription. He received 50*l*. from an unknown friend in London, and 3*l*. from a "sea officer," with 30*l*. from some respectable persons in Dublin. The Right Hon. J. Fitzgerald has sent seed oats and barley with flax seed, and 50*l*. to his tenantry.—We record these things, because they are honourable to humanity. The distress at Skibbereen and vicinity, is most afflicting. A subscription to the amount of one hundred and seventy pounds has been made, and 100*l*. has been received from the Committee in London, who have transmitted 1000*l*. to the County of Clare, and 500*l*. to Limerick. 500*l*. to Galway and Mayo, and 500*l*. to Kerry. Government have purchased 1000 tons of potatoes to be forwarded to Dublin, and thence transmitted by the canals to the southern parts. A vast quantity of flour has been shipped at Liverpool for Cork, Limerick and Galway. The Committee at Limerick,

have offered a bounty of 10*l*. per ton for any quantity of potatoes not exceeding 400 tons, which being shipped after the 6th instant, shall arrive before the 21st June. Notwithstanding the distress which prevails in the south, the deluded peasantry are still disturbing the County of Limerick.—*Faulkner's Journal*.

**London Papers.**—On the 6th of April, the Yarmouth brig SULTAN, Captain Fill, arrived at Odessa, in 46 hours from Constantinople, bringing letters from thence, of the 3d April. At that time political appearances continued the same. The SULTAN had in no manner altered his resolution, and war was expected as the necessary result. The whole question rests now with the Emperor of Russia; and nothing but inability can prevent that once great, powerful and magnanimous Ally of England from driving the Barbarians out of Europe; from assisting the Christian population of Greece in their great struggle for Religious and Civil Liberty, and from giving knowledge and comfort to that unfortunate portion of the earth. The English Ministry, however, appear to be friendly to the present system; and some think that his IMPERIAL MAJESTY will, from this circumstance, be induced, for the present, to forego his claims on Turkey. Should this happen, little doubt can exist but that the SULTAN, from the firmness which he has displayed in defence of old and barbarous customs, will be supposed well qualified for a leading station amongst the Holy Allied Sovereigns, and will be duly invested with the insignia of the different Christian Orders of Knighthood. To preserve the present system is the principle of this Holy Alliance; to prevent intellectual improvement and increase of liberty to their subjects are their primary objects; and surely the Emperor of Turkey, in the accomplishment of these grand objects, will be a worthy member of this illustrious fraternity.

Letters have been received from Malta, of the 13th April. By these, information has come to hand of the Greeks having completed their Government, on the European system, at Corinth, and that great order and a just obedience to the laws universally prevailed. These letters make no mention of the Turkish fleet having landed 7000 men in the neighbourhood of Patras, but they mention that a part of that fleet had met with a violent storm, and had been forced into Alexandria with the loss of one frigate, which had been totally wrecked, all on board perishing, excepting three men. The next mail will probably bring intelligence highly interesting from the Morea.

From the 5th January, 1791, to the 15th February, 1819, when the ports last closed against the importation of Foreign Wheat, there were imported into Great Britain 15,192,748 quarters, which was an average of 542,598 quarters annually for 28 years, from this quantity the average annual export was 12,161 quarters; leaving for home consumption of foreign Wheat, an annual quantity of 530,437 quarters for 28 years preceding the time when importation was last prohibited. Previous to 1817, the ports were closed for nearly three years, and the consequence was, that when the bad harvest of 1816 again opened them, the prices of wheat were so high, that every part of Europe looked to England as the best market, and forwarded every quarter of wheat that money could purchase. The consequence was, that in 1818, in place of getting a moderate supply of 542,598 quarters, the immense quantity of 2,600,000 quarters were imported in that season, and in 1819, previous to the closing of the ports on the 15th February, in that year. Taking the consumption of 1818 and 1819 on the same ratio as during the preceding 28 years, there would, when the ports closed, remain on hand 1,540,000 quarters, being three years' consumption of foreign wheat, taking the quantity used to be the same as in the previous 28 years. The coming crop cannot look more favourable than it does at present.

At Mark-lane the market this day is dull, without any variation in prices. The supply is large for the time of the year.

The advance of a million sterling to British farmers to enable them to hold the superabundance of their crops at the time that Sir E. O'Brien calls on the House of Commons to grant relief to the starving population of Ireland, is perhaps the most extraordinary civil event recorded in the History of England; and, as there is a free intercourse in grain betwixt the two kingdoms,



those who take the trouble to inquire into the cause can infer this effect only from the poverty of the Sister Kingdom. Sir EDWARD knows well where to get a sufficient supply of provisions if he only knew how he could get payment for them. To procure productive labour for the people—to give them the benefit of free laws—to repeal obnoxious and absurd Statutes, and to introduce education and knowledge amongst them, was the study of Mr. Grant.—*Morning Chronicle*.

*The King's Visit to the Continent.*—According to new accounts with respect to the journey which the King of England intends to take, it appears that his Majesty's plan is to set out from London in the latter fortnight of June, at which time the Parliament will be prorogued, and the Levees and Presentations at Court are usually suspended. His Majesty will first visit Hanover, where he will remain until the end of June; thence he will go to Vienna, in fulfilment of the promise which he made to the Emperor of Austria. His stay in this capital will be signalised by splendid fetes. The King will then come to Paris, where, it is believed, he will pass some time, residing at the Elysee Bourbon. The King will then embark at Dieppe to return to his Pavillion at Brighton. It was at first doubtful whether this journey would take place, although the newspapers had hastened to announce it; but the beneficial effects on the King's health produced by his excursion to Hanover have induced the Ministers to urge his Majesty to repeat an experiment which proved in the first instance so salutary.—*Moniteur*.

*Arrival of the Prince and Princess of Denmark.*—On Wednesday evening, (May 15,) their royal highnesses and suite arrived in town, from the Continent, and immediately proceeded to 63, Wimpole-street, which house has been lately taken, and fitted up in a most magnificent style for their reception, their royal highnesses having declined accepting the proffers of his Majesty, in order to live as private as possible during their residence in this country.

A public error exists with respect to the Princess of Denmark. The illustrious visitor is not Caroline, the Princess Royal Daughter to his Danish Majesty, but the wife of Prince Christian, first cousin to the King, and heir apparent. This royal couple have been long travelling on the continent, and are now returning home.

*Sir W. Scott.*—The GAZETTE OF LYONS (a French Paper) announces the death of Sir W. Scott, with a biographic notice of the celebrated romancer's life, which will give Sir Walter, whom we believe still alive (and hope well), no great gratification in the reading. It describes him as given to the pleasures of the table—fond of his bottle, when the wine was good—a great Tory, and a friend (somewhat inconsistently) to the Spanish Liberals.

*Countess Fitzwilliam.*—The death of the amiable Countess Fitzwilliam took place at Milton-house, near Peterborough, on Monday morning last, (May 13,) after a long protracted illness, in her 75th year. Her Ladyship was Charlotte Ponsonby, youngest daughter of William, second Earl of Besborough, by Caroline Cavendish, eldest daughter of William, third Duke of Devonshire.

Died on Tuesday last, (May 14,) at Lynn, after a short illness, Ann Miller, aged 106.—*Norwich Mercury*.

*Weather.*—As an illustration of the singular character of the last winter, it may be mentioned, that while the thermometer was some degrees above freezing in Russia and Sweden, they were skating and driving traineaux at Madrid, through the whole of January, and several persons were frozen to death in the streets of Lisbon. The cold cutting days, and frosty nights which distinguished a part of the past week, we are glad to find, upon enquiry, have in no degree injured the apple blossoms.

*Northern Winter, Volcano.*—*Elisnore, March 26.*—Accounts from Iceland, to the beginning of this month, have been received at Copenhagen. While the winter in the east of Europe was remarkably mild, it set in early and with great severity in Iceland.\*

\* This intelligence is interesting to us, as it affects the Expedition under Captain Parry; to the success of which we are sorry to see it is so adverse.—*Ed.*

Immense quantities of snow have fallen, and the north and east coast have been entirely blocked up with floating ice. There have likewise been volcanic eruptions in a place where they were wholly unlooked for. The mountain called Oefields Jokkelen, to the south east of Hecla, which had been quiet ever since the year 1612, broke out with great fury on the 19th, 20th, and 21st of December 1821, so that the ice with which it was covered, burst with a tremendous crash, the earth trembled, and enormous masses of snow were precipitated from the summit (a height of 5500 feet) into the plain. From that time a column of fire continued to rise from the crater, which ejected vast quantities of ashes and stones, some of which, weighing from fifty to eighty pounds, half calcined, were thrown to the distance of five English miles from the crater. It does not appear that any great damage has been done by this eruption. The mass of sulphureous ashes which covered the adjoining country like a thick crust, has since been removed by a violent storm and torrents of rain. The mountain continued to burn till the 1st of February and smoked till the 23d; but the ice had again formed round the crater. During the eruption the weather in the island was extremely unsettled and stormy, with a loud noise, and sensible shocks as of an earthquake.

*Death of the Bishop of Meath.*—The DUBLIN FREEMAN announces the death of the Right Hon. and Right Rev. Dr. Thomas Lewis O'Beirne, Bishop of Meath. His Lordship was originally educated for the functions of a Roman Catholic Priest, but having recommended himself to the notice of the late Duke of Portland, he abjured the Roman Catholic faith, became a Protestant Clergyman, and was in 1799, promoted to the see of Meath, one of the most valuable in Ireland, in point of income.—[The Minister has now three mitres at his disposal.]

Rumour states that the present Archbishop of Dublin is to succeed the late Dr. Stuart in the primacy of Ireland. The Archbishop of Tuam to be removed to the See of Dublin, and the Bishop of Raphoe to be promoted to the Archdiocese of Tuam. It is also stated, that the Dean of St. Patrick's and Dr. Bisset (first chaplain to the Marquis Wellesley) will be the new Bishops.

The following is an authentic statement respecting the death of the Archbishop of Armagh:—"His grace having taken some calomel on Monday, which was inoperative, and occasioned much pain, a black or senna draught was prescribed for the purpose of giving immediate relief. The prescription was sent to be prepared without delay, and as soon as it could be made up, it was brought to the house, and a black draught was delivered into the bed-room. As no other draught was in thought or expectation, and as a black draught was to be immediately taken, the draught delivered as that prescribed, was immediately administered. It was scarcely swallowed, when it appeared that two phials had been delivered into the house from the apothecary's at the same moment—the one the prescribed medicine, the other a private order of a servant, to be used in an injection. The servant who received them at the door gave the medicine designed for the Primate to his fellow-servant, and hastened eagerly up-stairs with the other, a phial of laudanum, omitting in his hurry to notice the fact of two phials having been received.

The death of the Archbishop of Cashel was caused by taking goat's milk, which coagulated in his stomach, and caused mortification.

Abbe Sicard, the philanthropic and celebrated Director of the Institution of the Deaf and Dumb, died on the 10th of May at Paris, at the advanced age of 80. He was buried on Monday, (May 13) The funeral ceremony was splendid and interesting. His remains were attended by a military escort, members of the Institute, and the deaf and dumb pupils of the deceased. Two days before his death he addressed these words to the Abbe Goudelin, the Director of the Deaf and Dumb School of Bourdeaux:—"My dear brother—Ready to die, I bequeath to you my dear children—I bequeath their souls to your religion, their bodies to your care, their intellectual faculties to your enlightened capacity—Perfrom this noble task, and I die tranquil."—*Bell's Messenger*.

## Imperial Parliament.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, MAY 15, 1822.

## THE CIVIL LIST.

Mr. LENNARD rose for the purpose of calling the attention of the house to a motion of which he had some time ago given notice, viz. to propose to the house the adoption of a resolution, "that it was fit to appoint a Committee for the purpose of taking into consideration the expenses of the 3d class of the civil list." He should make but one observation with the view of securing the attention of the house; and he trusted that that would be effectual: it was—that he should make but very few general statements, and should then leave the subject for the consideration of the house. In treating this matter, his positions were, that the present was acknowledged, generally, to be a time of overwhelming distress and debt; that economy was called for by every class of men in this country—from the throne and from the cottage; that, under such circumstances, unless every possible saving was effected, and the most rigid economy adhered to, public credit could not be maintained. In the words of Mr. Burke, it might be said "credit cannot exist in the arms of necessity—credit and necessity are natural enemies, and cannot exist together, or be reconciled one to the other." Many different statements had recently been made to that house, relative to the distresses of the country; and retrenchment had been proposed as one of the most certain and immediate remedies. But if they expected that this remedy should be applied, it must be admitted that there was no department of our expenditure in which there was so much wasteful and extravagant expense as in this third department of the Civil List. It would also be considered, he thought, that at a time when economy was so loudly and so universally called for, there was no department in the state, into the charges of which they might more advantageously proceed to institute a severer inquiry, than in this. (hear.) Honourable Gentlemen would remember, that in the beginning of the present Session, he (Mr. Lennard) had given notice of a motion for an humble Address to his Majesty, praying that his Majesty would be pleased to direct certain reductions to be made in the various branches of the Civil List. Since that period, it had been announced to Parliament, that partial reductions had been made: he alluded to those which had taken place in the personal establishment of the Sovereign, and to the reduction of 10 per cent. on the salaries of other state officers, a matter to which he would presently call the attention of the house. It was the circumstance of such reductions having been effected that influenced him now to call upon the house to limit the further retrenchments he should propose to the third class of the Civil List. He thought he should have no difficulty in proving, that however proper it might once have been to afford a large expense for maintaining the pomp and dignity of those officers who belonged to the class in question, yet in the present times the house ought to grant nothing which was not absolutely called for. He could not refrain from expressing his regret that the retrenchment which had been adopted by his Majesty's Ministers had not been pushed to a greater extent (hear): for he conceived that it might have been much more extensive, without at all diminishing the proper dignity, or, as it was now the fashion to term it, "the influence" of the Crown. Many Gentlemen, however, seemed to think that after the scale of reduction upon which his Majesty had reduced that department which was more immediately connected with his own person, it might be invidious or injudicious to ask for any farther reductions there. He (Mr. Lennard) was far from bowing to this opinion; and if he yielded to it, it was not because it had his entire concurrence; but because, if the distresses of the country remained at their present height, (and he rather feared that they were more likely to increase than to remain stationary), he would be disposed to postpone the general question of the Civil List, in the hope that before the arrival of another session, his Majesty's Ministers would see the importance and necessity of making further reductions in the establishment of his Majesty's household, and particularly in the large salaries of the Officers of State and in the Pension List. He (Mr. Lennard) could not for a moment allow himself to suppose that his Majesty's heart was not truly affected by the existing distresses of the nation. Indeed there had not lately been one speech delivered from the Throne in which his Majesty had not declared that he sincerely sympathized with his people. (hear.) It would be for him (Mr. Lennard) to show that the expenses of the department to which he desired to call the attention of the house were excessive; and that the main point he had in view was their diminution. It was hardly necessary that he should recall to the recollection of Members, his Majesty's gracious speech, delivered in the beginning of the Session; and in which he had recommended to that house, in the most decided terms, the adoption of economical measures. He (Mr. Lennard) was sorry to say, that that speech had followed up, by its own makers—by its very penmen—coming down to the house, and in defiance of their own propositions, contending, that no practical good would result from the adoption of such retrenchments. The country would see by the vote of that night, whether, after the recommendation contained in the speech

from the Throne, it was the will and pleasure of those who framed that speech, or his Majesty's gracious disposition, so expressed, that was to be the rule by which that house was to be governed. Seeing what were the distresses of the country, it must be evident that every reduction which was possible to be effected, ought to be adopted throughout our whole expenditure; and there were many Members in that house who were equally surprised with himself, that amongst the many expeditious for relief which had been suggested by his Majesty's Ministers, and after all their promises of economy, no reduction had been made in the salaries of the great officers of State and of the Ambassadors, except the trifling one of 10 per cent. (hear.) Another argument which ought to avail in the consideration of this subject was, that the Civil List had been at various times augmented, because the value of money has fallen in this country. (hear.) It was upon this ground, an augmentation took place in the year 1792. Mr. Pitt on that occasion said (in effect)—"That his proposition had for its object the advancement of the Civil List. He had no disposition to prodigality or extravagance, but was intended to meet that advance upon the prices of all necessary articles of life which had taken place since the Civil List was first fixed, and of which every individual in private life must have experience. The arrangement which he had to propose was not intended to ensure any additional pomp or splendour, but was founded upon the measure that had been adopted in 1786. It proceeded upon the principle that the allowances ought to be commensurate with the altered value of money." Now he (Mr. Lennard) should contend that the great alteration which had within the last 3 or 4 years occurred in the value of money, altho' it might not essentially affect the salaries of our ambassadors abroad, it did essentially affect our means of paying those salaries. (hear.) He took the implied condition of this, and of every other public grant to be—that such salaries were not to be paid, if they were likely to reduce to beggary and distress many of those classes by whom the means of payment were to be contributed. It must be very plain to all who heard him, that the taxes out of which those means were to be provided, many classes were now no longer able to pay. They were no longer qualified to do so; they had ceased to be rich, and he might be allowed, perhaps, to depose to their inability from his own knowledge of the general condition of the agricultural interest, with which he was immediately connected. (hear, hear.) The question, therefore, was not merely what it was fitting that the Crown should pay to its ambassadors abroad, but what it was possible for us to pay? But, independently of that powerful argument, the necessity of the case, there was still another reason why this class of the Civil List should be reduced.—Many gentlemen, he thought, would concur with him in thinking, that the vast expenses incurred by this class were in no way conducive to the proper representation of the Sovereign, or to the advancement or distinction of any body else; but that they were merely a means by which Ministers were enabled to purchase those venal services, which otherwise they would be unable to procure. He might, possibly, be met with the argument, that, compared to the total of expense, the savings he should propose would be but as a drop of water to the ocean—that they would come within that description of savings of which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said that they could effect no real benefit or relief to the people. But he (Mr. Lennard) said, that the moral effect of adopting them would be beneficial to the country by giving the people reason to believe that there was some sincerity in those professions of sympathy for their sufferings which the house of Commons had so repeatedly made. (hear, hear.) It was not requisite that he should go into the details of all the several branches of the Civil List: but he would observe, that at different periods that List had been augmented in three different ways—by progressive advances—by being relieved at different times from charges to the amount of 300,000*l.* or 400,000*l.*—and by the suppression of several Offices. He would allude very briefly to the first class, in which, indeed, there had been a reduction of ten per cent.; but it was necessary to bear in mind that, besides what here appeared to be received by the Crown, it possessed other large sources of revenue in the Duchies of Cornwall and Lancaster, and in the droits of Admiralty. All ought, in his opinion, to be put under one head, that it might be known what was applicable to the private and personal expences of the Sovereign. As to the second class, containing the bills of the royal household, no man could take the most cursory glance at it without being convinced that it was utterly impossible to expend the money charged under that head, unless it was wasted in perquisites of office, or applied in the most gross and infamous manner. (hear.) The pension list ought also to be essentially reduced: however fit the selection in some cases might be, it could not be denied that there were many persons in it not of that class of life to make it necessary that they should continue to take such large sums from the pockets of the people. (hear.) He now came to the third class, to which he requested particular attention: it was most fertile in expense, and he hoped to be able to persuade the house, that very great reductions might be made in it without lowering the dignity or importance of the country in the eyes of foreign nations. Independently of the Ambassadors at the great courts of Europe, there were a variety of charges for second and even for third rate courts, which could only be



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viewed as poor dependents and satellites on the grand Holy Alliance. (*hear.*) Where formerly there was only a *Charge des Affaires*, now there was an Envoy Extraordinary, at the trifling cost of about twenty times the sum originally paid. The mission to Switzerland was a most striking instance in point: that appointment was one of a recent and peculiar character, and it was wholly impossible that it should escape the vigilance of Parliament. If he succeeded in his motion for a committee, he hoped to be able to show that that extravagant charge was unnecessary. In proportion as Switzerland had fallen in the scale of Europe (*hear, from the Ministerial benches*), had the emoluments of the Ambassador being increased until now they were actually 20 times the amount formerly paid. This job, for he could call it by no milder term, had most properly been made the object of a separate motion, and no doubt the ability and perspicuity of the Hon. Member who had undertaken to bring it forward would enable him to present a case to the country, if not to the House, which would tend to its abandonment. On this account he (*Mr. Lennard*) would studiously avoid further remarks upon it: it was so odious in itself, that he wished to disclaim such a reference to it in his proposition: it was an anomaly even among the many unwarrantable transactions regarding foreign missions disclosed by the papers upon the table. If, therefore, he could not lay sufficient ground for his motion, without including the appointment to Switzerland, he was willing to relinquish it altogether. His objections to the third class of the Civil List were various. He first looked at the establishments of this kind in 1792, and compared them with the amount charged for them upon the public in 1822, taking into consideration the state of the country at each period, the price of different articles, and the rank Great Britain then held among the States of Europe. He found that since 1792 the grand total of expence had been augmented to the extent of 150,000l.; merely the salaries of Ambassadors, putting out of view extraordinary missions, the emoluments of Secretaries and other items increasing from year to year, had been augmented by the sum of no less than 60,000l. Was it that the country could now better afford to pay these extravagant demands; or was it not on the contrary undeniable true that the taxes imposed could not be raised, and that all classes were suffering a greater or less degree of distress? He had yet to learn also that the rank of this country in Europe was higher now than in 1792. The truth was, that *Charges d'Affaires* were not suited to the present extravagant scale of expence, and what was formerly known by the economical term of a Resident was wholly unknown. Notwithstanding the newfangled doctrines on the alterations recently made in the kingdoms of Europe, he apprehended that the Noble Marquis would find it difficult to persuade the House that in the impotent States of Italy, groaning under the iron sway of Austria, it was necessary to maintain an Ambassador. Comparing 1792 with the present era, it would be found that all the minor States of the continent were made dependent upon one or other of the members of the grand quintuple alliance. Nevertheless the most costly embassies were kept up at these inferior Courts. In 1792 the whole expence of Ambassadors in Italy was 10,000l. yet now it approached to 18,000l. In 1792 the embassy to the United States of America cost 3,670l. and now 7,426l. The British Minister there was paid 6,000l.; and this fact was most remarkable, since it was actually more by 500l. a year than the Legislature allowed to the President of the United States. The only pretence for paying so largely in Europe was, that our Ministers might live upon a scale suited to the Court in which they resided; but in America our Ambassador enjoyed an allowance beyond the salary of the Chief Magistrate of the Republic! With reference to the increase in the grand total of 150,000l. it might be said, perhaps, that we had now Ambassadors at certain courts where there were none in 1792. The Envoy to Turin received 3,000l. a-year; to the German Diet, 6,500l. a-year; and to the Brazils 6,000l. a-year. In 1792, however, and he mentioned it with pain and grief, Great Britain had an Ambassador at Venice, and in Poland, before that fine country was devoured by the detestable policy of Russia and Germany. In 1794, we had an Ambassador also at Genoa at a very considerable expence. He mentioned these facts as an answer to the assertion that might be made, that we had more ambassadors now than at any former period. It was impossible to look at this ascending series of expence without supposing from thence that the situation of the kingdom must have been greatly improved—that its means of paying were increased, or that its interests were insufficiently guarded abroad in 1792. If such were not the case, ministers were in this dilemma—either that our Ambassadors in 1792 were inadequately rewarded, or that they were paid too extravagantly in 1822. No man could be more convinced of the necessity of retrenchment than he was, and in this third class he was equally well convinced that a large saving might be made without injury to the character of the country, and with injury only to the private interests of our Envoys at Turin and in Switzerland. There was another point in the papers well worthy of attention. He had alluded to the increase in the amount of the pensions; and the country had been told in 1812 that it might anticipate a great diminution in this branch of the expenditure by retired Ministers being sent out on active employments, and their pensions thus saved. The year 1815 had been well called the *annus mirabilis* of expence, and the pensions were then 49,000l. At the present moment they had

risen to 51,000l. As to our Ambassadors at the greater Courts, he was quite willing that they should be attended by all due splendour: but he did not think that this kingdom would gain much in the estimation of foreign Powers by seeing its Ambassadors living on a scale of the utmost extravagance while every post brought advices of new and augmented distresses at home. There was not a single instance of an Ambassador whose salary since 1792 had not been most enormously increased: some had been doubled, some trebled, and in Russia it had been even quadrupled. In addition to their salaries, there were the heavy expence of outfit, allowances for secretaries, messengers, chaplain, private secretary, general secretary, and a vast and almost unintelligible accumulation of charge. They were paid, too, without the slightest deduction; they were studiously guarded against losses by the exchanges, which sometimes were made to amount to 39 per cent.; and it was not a little curious, as a proof of completeness of the system, that though in every case of loss the country was made to pay to the uttermost farthing, there was not a single instance of any Ambassador making a deduction from his emoluments because the exchange had been in our favour. He was not one who thought that, even in France, it was necessary to maintain a large establishment for the entertainment of English travellers. In this respect he differed from some Honourable Gentlemen, and perhaps an exception might be made in favour of Sir Charles Stuart, at Paris, which was visited by so many English. The country at large, however, was not very deeply interested in the number of dinners he gave or in the magnificence of his entrees, excepting as far as it was now required to pay for them and not be able to pay for them in another year. Admitting the case of Sir C. Stuart to be peculiar, was it necessary to keep an Ambassador at the same expence in Russia? If both must be alike, he (*Mr. Lennard*) should be disposed rather to reduce the embassy to Paris to what that to Russia ought to be, than rise that of Russia to the extravagant scale of the French mission. In considering this subject, it was impossible not to turn the eye to the practice of the United States; and with all regard to our rank in Europe, he could not help hoping that ere long Ministers would see the necessity of imitating the wise and economical policy of that great and flourishing republic. The people of this country had long shown what the Noble Marquis had once termed "an ignorant impatience of taxation;" and that impatience might compel him, under the existing distresses, to listen to and adopt plans of effectual economy. He trusted that to-night he should not be met by what had recently been often urged—that it was necessary to maintain these establishments for the purpose of supporting the influence of the Crown. Vast sources of patronage were in the hands of Ministers: they had the army, the navy, the church, India, and the colonies, and here they might adequately provide for their friends and supporters. That argument had very recently been used and had failed when a Noble Lord (*Normanby*) brought forward a motion for abolishing the office of joint Postmaster General; and if it were again employed to-night, he trusted the House would again show its sense of its unconstitutional nature. Another point might also be urged—it might be said that a compact had been made with the Crown, and that that compact could not now be altered. Such a reply could have no application to this third class of the civil list. It hardly applied to the other classes such an agreement to be binding must be reciprocal, and the King on his part must take the evil with the good. Yet had not a demand been over and over again made to Parliament to pay the debts of the Civil List, and they had been paid without reference to the finances of the country, or to the poverty of the people? (*hear.*) He would not trouble the House further than by submitting his motion, trusting that he had said enough to show that great reductions ought without delay to be made in the Civil List, but especially in the third class. The charge was much heavier than the station of the country required or than the poverty of the people could pay. He moved—"That a Select Committee be appointed to take into consideration the expences of the third class of the Civil List, and to report their opinion as to any or what savings may be made in the expence of that class, with a view that any such savings may be carried to the account of the Consolidated Fund, according to the provisions of the 65th Geo. III. c. 46, sec. 45."

The Marquis of LONDONDERRY said, that as he should feel it his duty to negative the motion of the Hon. Member, he should proceed to put the House in possession of such explanations as would enable it to understand the view he took of the subject, and as would probably induce it to concur with him in the vote he should give. He regretted that the Hon. Gent. confining the proposition with which he had concluded to the third class of the civil list, had not also to that class limited his observations, but he had indulged in a general complaint of a want of economy in the whole of this branch of the expenditure. He (*Lord Londonderry*) would not detain the House by going at all into the topic, indeed he would not have travelled out of his way to advert to it, if the Hon. Gent. had not treated it as a point admitted, as a generally received opinion, that there was a total absence of economy in the administration of the Civil List revenue. He (*Lord Londonderry*) begged to be understood as laying in his claim to maintain the exactly contrary proposition. (*hear.*) No branch of the revenue was administered with more regularity

or with a more anxious desire to economize; and whenever the question was raised he should be prepared to prove it. The Hon. Gentleman had very properly alluded to that munificent act of his Majesty which distinguished the opening of the session; feeling the distress of the country, his Majesty had been ready to make an important donation; but if the Honourable Gentleman supposed that that sacrifice was made without placing the administration of the Civil List under considerable difficulties—if he imagined that great attention to economy was not in consequence necessary, he was very much mistaken.—The motion however, being confined to the third class of the Civil List, he (Lord Londonderry) thought that he should best consult the wishes and convenience of the House, and best perform his duty, by limiting his explanations to the same class. The Honourable Member had urged that that class was distinct; that whatever argument might be founded upon the contract between the Crown and the people as to the general List, and however it might be contended that Parliament was not entitled to go into the question unless the Civil List being in debt should come to Parliament for assistance, still that such an argument could not apply to the third class. He (Lord Londonderry) admitted the distinction: he admitted that though the principle of the Civil List had been settled by Parliament though the basis of the contract had been arranged, still that the third class was different from the rest. One inconvenience had always hitherto stood in the way of discussions of the Civil List—viz. that it was made to embrace a vast variety of expenditure, much of it of a definite and fixed nature, and much of it so fluctuating and uncertain that no correct estimate could be made of it. It had thence always happened, that the income of the Civil List being taken at the *minimum*, particularly in time of war, there was consequently a general disposition in the expenditure to exceed the income. He begged, nevertheless, to recall the recollection of the Hon. Gentleman and the House to the fact, that looking at the working of the bargain made at the beginning of the late reign, and comparing it, not with the hereditary duties, it would be found that during the whole sixty years the result had been to the advantage of the public. Under the most recent arrangement of this subject, however, Parliament had thought, and wisely, that it was desirable to confine the contract with the Crown to those articles of expenditure which were in their nature so far fixed and defined, that a reasonable estimate could be made of their amount. Those items that were uncertain and fluctuating were left to be controlled and regulated by Parliament. The same principle was acted upon with respect to the third class; pains were taken to distinguish the various heads of expenditure of which the foreign service was composed, and only to place in the body of the civil list such as could be brought within some reasonable calculation. Of the five heads, three were considered of this fixed character, and two of a fluctuating nature, the latter being left to be provided for among the civil contingencies coming annually under the review of Parliament. The only three classes provided for in the civil list were, the pensions for Ministers, the emoluments of Consuls, and the salaries of Ministers, upon an estimate laid before the House at the time, specifying the places where the proposed missions should be employed, the rank and character of the embassies, and the expenses that would be attached to them. The Hon. Gent. would have the goodness to recollect that the extraordinaries for the outfit of, and the presents to, Foreign Ministers, were left out of this arrangement. The extraordinaries had been calculated at 50,000l.; the outfit of Foreign Ministers at 10,000l.; and the presents at 15,000l. In addition to these sums, there was an allowance of 30,000l. for Consuls, and of 144,000l. for the salaries of Foreign Ministers, including house rent. He trusted that he understood the Hon. Gent. rightly that he did not propose that his Committee should take cognizance of that part of the expenditure that came under the annual review and control of the House; he only proposed to refer to a select committee the pensions to Foreign Ministers, the emoluments of Consuls, and the salaries of Foreign Ministers. Nothing could surely be less rational than to refer to a committee what the House was annually in the habit of examining in its minutest details; there was no principle on which a committee above stairs could be charged with such a duty. (*hear, hear.*) No doubt, such gentlemen as the Hon. Member for Aberdeen would think this a great improvement upon the present system; he would have all the estimates for the army, navy, ordnance, miscellanies, and barracks, referred to a Select Committee, (*hear, from Mr. Hume and others.*) No doubt this double review would be infinitely satisfactory to him; but as long as the country remained a Monarchy, and Parliament survived, he (Lord Londonderry) should contend that such a mode of getting through the public business tended to any thing but to the public good.—(*hear, hear.*) He was not disposed to imitate any foreign practice, where the whole powers and duties of the Executive Government were thrown into the hands of Committees above stairs, (*hear, hear.*) He was only now endeavouring to understand what the Hon. Member intended to be the functions of his Committee: he took it for granted, that the object was to inquire into the third class of the Civil List, under the heads that had been named, and with the distinction that might fairly be drawn as regarded this third class. Expenses of this nature must always vary with

circumstances. The existence of a state of war must necessarily diminish the extent of our missions; but in a time of peace, new arrangements would frequently occur, which would raise the expenditure by extending those missions. When such variations were likely to take place, it was therefore a sound and wise principle with respect to the third class, to provide that whatever savings might be effected by the discontinuance or new modelling of any missions should not be applied to the service of the other branches of the Civil List, but should be made available for the public service. This, however, did not alter the contract entered into with the Crown, which did not give to Parliament the right of apportioning the particular sums which were necessary to be devoted to particular missions.—If it were otherwise—if the particulars of each mission were to be laid before Parliament, and every point connected with it explained, where would be the use of including this branch of service in the civil list? If Parliament were to have full control over this department, it ought not to have been bound up with the civil list at all—it should have been left with the other ordinary votes, for which Parliament were in the habit of making provision. But he contended that the Crown, with respect to the particular branch, stood in the same situation that it did with reference to other parts of the civil list; with this exception, indeed, that any saving which happened to be effected in this department belonged to the public, and it was left open to Parliament to consider whether any savings were really made, and if there were, to see that they were carried to the service of the country, and not applied to the relief of the other branches of the Civil List. But to suppose that an intention ever existed to submit to that House, or to a Committee of that House, the necessity of sending Envoys to particular places—to imagine that it was ever meant that the House of Commons should consider of, and decide on, the propriety of despatching a mission to this State, or the policy of sending one to that, was contrary to all precedent and practice. Was it ever intended that they should declare whether a mission should be of a higher or a lower rank—whether it should be sent to a great Court or a small one—whether missions were or were not admissible to minor States? (*hear, hear.*) Were such questions as these ever intended for discussions in Parliament? Was the Committee now moved for to take upon itself the functions of the executive Government, and to call upon the Secretary of State for his attendance to discuss and explain all sorts of questions respecting the connexion of this country with Foreign Powers? He would ask of the House, how it was possible for them to agree to such a motion, unless they meant to open the door to an inquiry of this nature? (*hear.*) Could his sense of duty, or his oath of office, allow a Secretary of State, without the express sanction of his Majesty, to give such information? He never knew an instance in which Parliament did not run before the Ministers of the Crown, when asked questions of this nature, to forbid the disclosure. (*hear, hear, hear.*) Indeed, he never recollecting an instance when such a preposterous demand was made. But he demanded where that Cabinet was to be found, which would advise his Majesty to send his Ministers to a Committee up stairs, to explain all the foreign policy, to detail all the foreign relations of the country; (*hear, hear.*) If such a monstrous principle were adopted, it would be better at once to withdraw all our Embassies from the continent. Nothing could be more dangerous than a disclosure of all the circumstances connected with the foreign policy of the country—nothing was more likely to disturb the peace of Governments, than to have secrets of great moment to the welfare of the State brought forward to gratify the curiosity of any Member of such a Committee. (*hear, hear, hear.*) If a mission were suspended for a certain time, doubtless an inquiry would be made what the reason of that suspension was, and whether it was an adequate one; and if the suspension lasted for six weeks, Ministers would be called on to state why it should not continue for six years. In short all the questions of war and peace would be decided by gentlemen sitting in an executive committee up stairs. (*hear.*) He had not the slightest doubt that if such a committee were to sit this year, we should have a committee of public safety sitting in the next. (*cheers.*) Much of the discussion which had taken place of late on subjects of this nature seemed to be introduced for the purpose of preparing their minds for the adoption of the principle on which the Government of the United States of America, acted, with respect to their mission. But he protested against the application of that principle, to a Government which was essentially different from that of the United States. (*hear, hear.*) He would contend, that those who were constantly introducing those topics, were endeavouring gradually to prepare the moral feeling and political sentiments of the country for the adoption of that principle to which he had alluded. (*hear, hear.*) Profiting by the present moment of distress, they were endeavouring to create a belief that this country was brought to such a state of poverty, that we were obliged to abandon all those exalted sentiments of dignity—all those proud marks of distinction, which heretofore characterized the monarchy of England; and, instead of adhering to those that we were compelled to appear on the continent in *forme pauperis*, without those indications of greatness that were worthy of a commanding nation. They were told, that they ought to give up that dignity and hospitality, which were, in the last sense, essentially connected with our interests abroad, because the country



was no longer able to afford them. He perfectly admitted, that whatever savings were made in this class, it was the right and duty of Parliament to examine them, and to take care that they were justly appropriated. But he must at the same time contend, that there was a preclusion, which forbade their travelling into the reasons which induced the expenditure of the sums charged in the estimate for this service. If there were any one service which Parliament should refrain from investigating with too minute an eye, it was this service, on account of its peculiar character, embracing as it did circumstances that could not be divulged without manifest danger. But, above all others, this branch of the public service was the least fitted for examination of a Committee. If there were any necessity for such a discretion as Parliament gave to the Crown with respect to the Civil List, surely this was the portion of that List which more than any other demanded it. Feelings of personal delicacy towards the sovereign might operate against a scrutiny of the Civil List generally, as it related to the domestic concerns of the Monarch, and the house had been sufficiently disgusted when the subject was formerly introduced; but in this case the same feeling did not exist; sense of danger operated; the question was not of a private nature, it was of a vital importance to the State; and he would say, that if this inquiry into the diplomacy of the country were allowed, the Government could not go on for a single day (*hear*). He was not disposed to shrink from a fair investigation of what had been intrusted to his Majesty's Government, and of the spirit in which the powers placed in their hands with reference to this question had been administered; and he would add, that he would be bound by as strict and fair a system of economy as belonged to the circumstances of the times. Even if the expenditure of the Civil List came under general observation, he trusted that Ministers would show to Parliament that nothing unfair or imprudent could be laid to their charge. He believed he could prove to the House, that economy in this particular branch of the Civil List had been constantly kept in view by his Majesty's Ministers; and he could assure the house, that they would not lose sight of the reduction of expense, always, however, duly considering what the public service demanded. The hon. member had said, there was a perpetual increase of the Civil List; decrease, he asserted, there was none. In stating this, he had not shown much diligence, he had not displayed much research; for he (the Marquis of Londonderry) would prove, that a reduction had taken place in this particular class more than once or twice. They might be divided under three heads—pensions, consular salaries, and salaries and extraordinaries connected with foreign Ministers. The honourable member stated, that the Pension List was 52,000*l.* this year, which was as high as it had been for a considerable period; and he could not discover any diminution that had taken place in this charge since the war. In the first place, the hon. member was not quite accurate in stating the amount of the Pension List at the close of the war. In 1815 it amounted to 53,413*l.*; in 1816, to 56,673*l.* The last war was, *sui generis*—it was of a peculiar character—it had lasted above twenty years. Of course, Ministers, who were advanced in life when the war broke out, could not fairly be expected to go abroad, and undertake active public service at the conclusion of peace. It was, he knew of late, very common to quote the names of individuals, and to argue from their names as to their fitness or unfitness to hold particular situations. Now he called on gentlemen to look at the list which lay on the table, and to say, whether it afforded any fair presumption that an improper patronage was exercised, when the individuals there mentioned were placed on that list. With respect to consuls he was unwilling to occupy the time of the house on that subject, because it was at present under the consideration of the Board of Trade. He would therefore come at once to that which appeared to him to be the gist of the motion, namely, the salaries of foreign Ministers, the rank of the different missions, the general scale of expenditure, and how far it was justifiable. The hon. member treated lightly the reduction of 10 per cent. which had been made in the salaries of foreign Ministers; but if he (Lord Londonderry) read to the hon. member the letters he had received from individuals who were abroad in diplomatic capacities, he would see that that deduction of 10 per cent. was not so mere a trifle as he seemed to suppose, (*hear, hear*). Those who wished to bring the Government of this country to adopt the policy of the United States of America, would, he knew, find no difficulty in disposing of this question; but men who took a just view of the dignity of their country were not quite so easily satisfied. The salaries of our foreign Ministers, according to their various ranks, had undergone no alteration from 1714 to 1804. From the reign of Queen Anne down to 1804, no argumentation was made in their salaries. In 1801, an estimate was laid before Parliament; but it appeared that the limited increase which then took place left so many charges in the nature of extraordinaries, as rendered a revision of the system necessary. An arrangement was made for paying those extraordinaries; but they had swelled to such an enormous amount, as struck every person who considered the subject with the necessity of introducing a salutary economy. It was quite clear, that if extraordinaries were not paid, many individuals, who were actively employed in the service of their country, would be ruined in their private affairs. It

was therefore considered the best system of economy that could be adopted for the public advantage, and the only one by which the interests of the servants of the state abroad could be preserved, to give to our Ministers more liberal salaries, but to withhold any allowance for extraordinaries, except the the ground of claim was of a peculiarly equitable nature. It was agreed to allow them larger salaries, but extraordinaries were not to be granted, except in five or six instances. Acting on this principle, the Parliament of 1818 took up the subject, and recommended a certain scale of salaries. The scale then proposed was considerably larger than that which now existed. Putting the house-*rent* aside for the present moment, the salaries of 1815 were 151,650*l.* whereas the estimate of 1816 was 135,000*l.* making a saving of 16,650*l.* An event took place at that period, which certainly added to the salary. He alluded to the repeal of the Property Tax, which occurred in 1815. This measure gave them a net income, and relieved them from the necessity of paying very large charges out of a narrow salary. They, however, would not now stand in the same situation, since 10 per cent. would be deducted from the salaries of foreign Ministers; and he could assure the hon. member that the effect of that reduction would be most serious to those gentlemen who had no private and exclusive funds of their own. The duty of 10 per cent. on the salaries of foreign Ministers would, in this year, produce a saving of 14,700*l.* which, added to the reduction of 16,650*l.* on the estimates of 1815, as compared with that of 1816, would give a saving of upwards of 31,350*l.* in the present year over 1815. After this, he did not think it was very fair in the hon. member to say that no reduction was made in the Civil List—

The Estimate of 1815 was .....	151,650
That of 1816 .....	135,000
Saving .....	16,650
Gained by the 10 per Cent. Duty .....	14,700
Reduction of the existing Estimate, as compared with that of 1815 .....	31,350

being 20 per cent. on the whole scale of official salaries to foreign Ministers. (*Acer.*) But this was not the only reduction which Ministers had made, as he would presently show. The other reduction was not made on the Pension List, or the consular appointments. The former was protected by Act of Parliament; and therefore, whatever expense was attached to it, was commanded by the law, and was not the work of Administration. With respect to the consular charge, no saving could be effected in it, because circumstances had made the consular list greater than it previously was. On salaries, he had shown that 20 per cent. had been saved on the estimate of 1815; and he had now to state, that a very large reduction had taken place in the extraordinaries. When the three branches of the Civil List were last before the House, the extraordinaries were taken at 50,000*l.*; by a very close attention to this branch of the expenditure it was reduced to 27,000*l.* consequently a saving of 23,000 was made in the extraordinaries; and those who were conversant with the duties of the office which he now held must know, that above all the branches of the service, the extraordinaries required the most vigilant check and control. At one time, instead of 27,000*l.*, they amounted to 130,000*l.* and at a much later period the expenditure was 59,000*l.* But, it might be asked, for what purpose was the sum of 27,000*l.* now wanted, the diplomacy of this country being in a very different situation at present from that in which it formerly stood? The expenses which called for this sum might be classed thus:—In the first place, (fees formerly payable by the Ministers, but which the Committee of 1815-16 decided should no longer be defrayed by them) 7,800*l.*; post-office charges, 7,800*l.*; couriers 2,200*l.* These were not couriers who travelled between the missions and this country, and who would be charged under the head of King's messengers, but couriers who were employed to communicate between different missions, who were engaged on the spot, and who must be paid out of the pockets of the Ministers. There was a charge of 2,000*l.* an extraordinary expense, occasioned by the employment of dragomans, and other ceremonials peculiarly belonging to the service of the Ambassador at Constantinople. All the extra charges were of the same description. The Ministers had nothing to do with them. There was not one shilling of those charges that affected the pocket of any of our Ministers abroad. They had no personal interest or advantage whatever in making those charges. In the arrangement of 1815, the expense of Consuls was estimated at 40,000*l.*; in 1816, it was reduced to 30,000*l.* being a saving as compared with 1815, of 10,000*l.* In the present year, a very small saving had been made under this head, but circumstances had rendered it necessary to employ a greater number of consuls than we formerly did. If they added to the preceding sums of 31,350*l.* and 10,000*l.* a further saving of 23,250*l.* on different items connected with this branch of the service, it would give a total reduction of upwards of 64,000*l.* in the expense of a department which the hon. member alleged was always on the increase, and never on the decrease. He hoped he had said enough to show that there was not such a lavish expenditure as the hon. member had stated—such an expenditure as called on them to break the solemn contract that had been entered into with the Crown. He was sure the hon.

member must bring forward a better case than that which he had offered, before he could induce the house to break the faith of Parliament with the Monarch. He never could consent to lower, in the eyes of the world, the foreign service of the country; nor could he agree with the Gentlemen opposite (or rather with some of them, for he believed they did not all approve of the measure), in the propriety of assimilating our practice to that of the United States. He could not approve of a Committee, which was to investigate all the foreign relations of a country; he could not advise his Majesty to send his Ministers for examination before such a body. If such a system were ever countenanced, he hoped his Majesty would secure a set of ministers ready to act under the control of the Gentlemen opposite, or to walk in the leading-strings of a Committee above stairs. (*cheering.*) It would, he repeated, if such a principle were adopted, be high time to look out for another set of ministers. (*cheering.*) He would, as far as he was concerned, save the Crown and the house from the distress to which such a system must inevitably give rise; and he would also save the Committee from the grave constitutional responsibility which they must necessarily incur.—But, though he never would have the opportunity of explaining any part of this subject to Gentlemen above stairs, he felt no unwillingness to give every explanation, consistently with his duty to Gentlemen below stairs. The honourable member had asked how it happened that there were so many missions, and why their appointments were so expensive? It was rather late in the day for that question. It would have been better had those points been considered when the subject of our foreign alliances was before the house—before this country had entered into bargains which could not now be got rid of. He would, however, contend, that the most economical arrangements had been made, under all the circumstances of the time and of the country. With respect to the number of missions, he denied that there was any thing that entitled the honourable Member to question the policy on which the Government had acted. Taking that *annus mirabilis* of comparison, the year 1792, the honourable member proceeded to argue that the country at that time was satisfied with diplomatists of lower rank than were now employed, but that, instead of plenipotentiaries, envoys, and *chargés d'affaires*, ambassadors were now sent to different Courts. It did so happen, however, that with the single addition to one Court, this country had not at the present day a greater number of ministers of high rank abroad than were employed in 1792. Let the House look to the missions that stood on the scale of ambassadorial allowances in 1793; these were France, Spain, Holland, and Constantinople. In 1822 there was an Ambassador at the court of France, but there was not an Ambassador at the court of Spain. This showed that it was not necessary to form a committee for the purpose of inducing the Crown to modify our diplomatic proceeding according to circumstances. (*hear.*) Gentlemen opposite might say that this was done because Spain had set us the example. But they must have their Committee, they must be acquainted with the facts, they must have all the necessary information before he could allow that their opinion was worth asking or hearing on this point. There were, then, ambassadors to France, Holland, Constantinople, Russia and Austria. Surely the Honourable Gentleman must see the necessity of sending ambassadors to those powers who had assisted England in bringing the war to a glorious conclusion, and who with England formed the safeguard of Europe—the quintuple alliance. (*hear, hear, hear.*) Could gentlemen see nothing in the change of circumstances which explained the enforced necessity of sending an Ambassador to Russia and Austria? He should wish to know whether Russia had not taken a very different situation from that which she formerly maintained? (*cheering from the Opposition.*) He understood the meaning of the gentlemen opposite, but their opinion on this point must be taken *cum grano salis*. It was hardly fair to argue with them on the question of Russia, as their minds were not merely tinged, but were wholly impressed, with the idea of an anti-holy-alliance, under the influence of that power. (*hear, hear.*) To return to the immediate point under consideration: There was, at present, it appeared, but one new Minister, and the Minister was accredited to a Royal Court, which accounted for it. When respect to Ministers Plenipotentiary, the number of that class of diplomatists varied very little from the scale of 1792. In the first place, he would mention the Plenipotentiary to America; and certainly there was no country in the world with which it was more important for this country to live on terms of amity and mutual good feeling.—There were also Ministers Plenipotentiary to Prussia, the Two Sicilies, Sweden, Bavaria (which had grown up to be a Power of great importance to England, and was, in size, four-fold the extent which she formerly was) Wurtemberg, and Sardinia; at all of these courts, with the exception of Wurtemberg, had Ministers Plenipotentiary, in 1792, and nearly on the same scale as at the present day. Tuscany, Saxony, and Switzerland, were visited by Envoys Extraordinary. He had formerly urged the necessity of sending a Plenipotentiary to the Hans Towns; but, as the individual, who was then a *Chargé d'Affaires*, was a clever and respectable man, it was thought better to make an addition to his salary, which was originally 500*l.* a year, and to engage him to perform the duties which were usually executed by a Plenipotentiary. It therefore appeared, that with very little exception, the

number of our Foreign Ministers at present and in 1792 was the same. Here the Honourable Member had fallen into an error very natural to him upon this subject, not knowing the peculiar circumstances of many of the missions. The Honourable Member had stated that the expenses had been increased 60,000*l.* instead of 50,000*l.* A part of the expenses of our Mission to Constantinople had formerly been paid, not by the Crown, but by the Levant Company, and had been in fact the produce of a scale of protections. This was now paid by the Crown, and amounted to 10,000*l.* a year which had formerly been levied by the public. Therefore they must reason upon the sum not as 60,000*l.*, as the Hon. Member had represented it, but as 50,000*l.* He would now proceed to examine each class, and the House would judge whether the present establishments were such as this country ought to maintain or not. The six higher missions were in 1793, 50,260*l.* The corresponding missions in the year 1822 were, including the change of rank, 74,000*l.*, making an increase of 23,640*l.* This increase gave one-fourth more of salary on an average to the great diplomatic Officers and added about one sixth to the whole expense. Nine minor missions, including Wurtemberg, in 1763, were 6,295*l.*, and in 1822, 29,000*l.*; making an increase of 22,705*l.* Now in Italy, on which great expenses were supposed to be thrown away by maintaining a Minister at Tuscany, he could inform the House, that in 1793, the salary for that mission had been 3,600*l.* and was now only 3,000*l.* so that in fact, after deducting 20 per cent. it was 60*l.* less than in 1793 (*hear.*) But why have a Minister at Tuscany, it was asked—why have a Minister at Saxony? Why have a Minister at Wurtemberg? It was pretty strong proof that it was necessary to have a Minister at Tuscany, that we had never been without a Minister there. It was not too, a very mean argument to prove the propriety of having a Minister there, though it might not be intelligible to gentlemen on the other side, that every other Power had a Minister in Tuscany. Spain, Portugal, and Powers who could not be imagined to have any communication with that place, were there represented as this country had always been. It was perfectly sufficient proof that our Minister was not there merely for idle purposes, that all other Powers who wished to know what was doing in the world of which they formed a party were there represented. But it was a fact that hardly any diplomatic circle was more full than the Court of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. It was a station which he trusted would ever be attended as a Mission, and whatever different views might be entertained on the other side, he was in possession of information which proved that this mission could not be maintained with less expense. He now came to a mission which the Honourable Gentleman dwelt upon with particular pressure, and which was to form the subject of particular discussion to-morrow-night. He (Lord Londonderry) looked forward to the debate of to-morrow evening without any particular alarm—(*hear, hear,*)—and he had no doubt that the hope of the Honourable Member would prove as illusory as many similar hopes entertained on that side—(*hear, from the Opposition*)—they only required the breath of a little discussion to destroy them (*hear, from the Opposition.*) When he informed the House that Switzerland had very long had Ministers from this country—when he stated the peculiarity of the relation, the connections of a moral nature, the mutual attachment of the people of each country from similarity of character and political institutions, (*loud cheers*), their extraordinary respect for each other; besides the propriety of having a mission there on dry political and military considerations, he denied that this country could withhold a Minister from that country. It was at all times important for the preservation of the neutrality of the Cantons of Switzerland and for their protection from all the great Powers of Europe, especially from France, that we should have a Minister there. (*hear, hear.*) With the exception of two instances, we always had a Minister there. One of those instances was very surprising, and he was quite unable to explain it. The other was the period of the last war, when the States of Switzerland were occupied in war, and our missions were itinerant and changed with the circumstances. This, with the other very limited exception, to which he would advert, was the only time when there was not a mission from this country in Switzerland. From 1750 to 1763, there had been four Ministers Plenipotentiary. There had been a gentleman there—what diplomatic crimes he had committed, he was not wise enough to discover—a Mr. Braun, had but 250*l.* a year. Whether it was a punishment for a refractory diplomatist that such a sum had been assigned, he could not discover; but unless they should abandon the whole stream of general policy, they must support this mission so far as our ancestors had done. Switzerland was the great intervening country between Italy, France, and Germany, and was exposed to be disturbed by any disturbance in those countries. It was the key and bond which held them all together. It had, therefore, been one of those subjects which had been particularly attended to by the Congress at Vienna. After the confederacy of Buonaparte had been destroyed, it became a subject of anxious consideration how to establish the relations which had been involved in it consistently with the liberty, security, and happiness of Europe. It was agreed that Switzerland should have Ministers accredited by all the great Powers, and it was a distinct understanding that they should accredit their Ministers to that country, with the express desire of sustaining and completing the ar-



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rangement which had occupied so much of their time. It formed no small proof of the importance attached to the preservation of the neutrality of Switzerland, and by that means the tranquillity of Europe, that persons of the highest consideration and importance had been appointed to that mission. The Secretary of State of Russia, Count Capo D'Istria, was now Minister in that country. Though he held the highest station in the Government of Russia, yet he was now delivering his credentials for that mission. There, too, the nephew of Prince Talleyrand had been Minister. These facts he mentioned, because they proved that the great Powers of Europe watched anxiously over the policy of the Cantons of Switzerland. Why, Spain, with all her economy, had a Minister there. Portugal had a minister there. Was that proof that Switzerland was not of sufficient importance to be entitled to a mission from this country?—There was a feeling in every country to hold that important connexion with Switzerland; and if that feeling should not be supported in this country, our best feelings must be dissolved, (*cheers*) and we must be prepared to see it inquired who would go abroad with the least salary. (*hear, hear.*) He was astonished at the calumnies of Gentlemen (*hear, hear, hear, from the Opposition*)—insinuated for party purposes, he must say, and representing that the salary had been augmented for the advantage of a particular individual; or that the office was revived with the view of reconciling political differences. These insinuations were all founded on misapprehension or falsehood. They contained not a particle of truth. Mr. Canning, when he quitted that mission, had had direction from the King to give assurance that no time would be lost in sending a person of superior rank to occupy the same place. He dared to say that the Hon. Gentleman wished to hear the anecdotes which would explain the cause of the interval in sending a successor to Mr. Canning. He (Lord Londonderry) could indulge the appetite of the Hon. Gentleman, if he were not afraid that this appetite would grow with the indulgence. If the Hon. Member were to ask him 20 questions, he was prepared to answer them. A gentleman was immediately sent as secretary of legation, and was soon succeeded by Mr. Desbroue, who repaired at once as *Chargé d'Affaires*. Thus he had destroyed the beautiful illusion which had so much pleased the Honourable Member, and which had persuaded him that the mission had been revived for a political purpose. Another insinuation had been, that the salary had been increased for the indulgence of the person who was appointed. Now the salary stood the same as with Mr. Wynn's predecessor, with a difference of 20 per cent. less against Mr. Wynn. Mr. Wynn had indeed a pension, but the arrangement could not be more advantageous for the public, than by selecting one who had a pension. Now that he (Lord Londonderry) held himself bound always to select persons having pensions, but how could a selection be more acceptable, than that of a person of family, rank, and consideration? How could the arrangement be more economical than by selecting such a person having previously a pension? The salary was £3,900l., from which the pension of 1,500l. and 20 per cent. were to be deducted, and it was thus cut down nearly as low as the salary of Mr. Braun. He would now give the fair grounds of the increase of expenses for missions. Although the obligation to continue that increase might be evaded by granting a commission of inquiry, yet he should ill discharge his public duty, he should fail in his duty to the King and to the country, if he did not consider the arrangement between Parliament and the commissions, and that there was great propriety in adhering to it as an economical and just arrangement. It had the recommendation of having entirely removed the chapter of extraordinary from this department. The increase was about 50 per cent. on the scale of the missions. How that was expended he would now state. It had on former occasions been admitted on the other side, that the scale had been infinitely too low for the various demands to which missions were exposed. We were acquainted with the growth of expenses in this country. Since the last 2 or 3 years expenses had fallen lower, but had they returned to the level of 1992? or could we have the same articles for double the expense? He put it to the gentlemen who had been abroad, whether the growth of expenses on the Continent had not increased more largely and more rapidly than in this country. (*hear.*) Those expenses had very greatly increased by the increase of our own incomes. We carried with us habits of profusion and inconvenience which added much to the expenses of our missions. The number of our countrymen abroad were so great, that his Lordship, on his word, thought we formed a very great part of the population; as at Brussels and at other places. With the true spirit of a modern Stoic the hon. gent. asked, why should English gent. be received by the Ambassadors? But he (Lord Londonderry) doubted whether the Honourable Gentleman, if on the continent, would not hold the obligation rather high. The neglect of it would expose ambassadors to contempt and degradation, and they would be reviled and degraded from the station which they now held. Instead of giving a degraded hospitality to the crowds of countrymen who might invade it, it was for the credit of the country that they should live and exercise their hospitality with dignity suited to their station.—Another cause of increased expense was more intimately connected with the public service; it was occasioned by the mode in which business was determined to be conducted. There was a regulation which charged Ministers with certain expenses when they

were absent for their private convenience. Formerly they could have been absent with all their emoluments, and the officers who supplied their place were paid by the public. Now it was not so. A Secretary of Embassy or a Secretary of Legation, according to the degree of the Minister, was required to conduct the business, and receive £1. a day from his absent principal, if a Minister Plenipotentiary, and £1. if a Secretary of Legation. This was often found a counteracting motive, and prevented Ministers from desiring leave of absence where there was not a particular reason for it. He had looked within the last few days to this subject, and he had ascertained that a Minister, who was absent from his mission, lived fully one half dearer than otherwise, including house rent, servants whom he could not remove, and other expenses. But that was not the only charge. The Hon. Member had asked, what had this country to do with the Continent, or with the Holy Alliance? We had more connection with the existing Governments of Europe than at any former period, and particularly with those through whom we looked for the preservation of peace. There had been no former period, when the relation and mutual correspondence of Governments were so immediately connected with the preservation of general confidence—not confidence confined to the great Courts only, but embracing also the minor Courts. The scale of business had increased tenfold, too; and this increase was very much growing out of those relations which now connected the several nations. There were arrangements established by which the views and course of each nation were communicated to others fully and without reserve. It was their pride that no secret was entertained, and that no secret or indirect views were cherished and prosecuted by any one Power. This state of things created a mass of business which it was quite impossible to conduct in the foreign offices as formerly. Formerly, the Minister or his Secretary, with his own manual labour, transacted all the business; but at this moment, if he did not employ four or five persons in the office, it was quite impossible to perform the business of the department. This produced a considerable benefit, and it taught a great portion of the diplomatic experience and skill which so much distinguished the present class of diplomatists. He might be partial to those with whom he was so much connected—he might feel the influence of gratitude for the services of those who corresponded with him in his official duties—but he did not believe that at any former period so great a mass of talent had been known to be employed in this service, or so many young men of such promising merit as those who were now Secretaries of Embassy and Secretaries of Legation. There were 21 persons, who, by birth, talent, and industry, were fit for the highest stations, and who were attached to the diplomatic service without salary, whom he could recommend to the King with confidence for any office, if there should be an opportunity; but they still remained attached, without fee or reward, with all his desire to promote them, no opportunity had occurred. They were therefore employed, as clerks were employed in his (Lord Londonderry's) office; and the only advantage they gained was the experience they acquired by being in the society of Ambassadors, and often in their families and houses. Such a mass of young men would necessarily cause a great increase of expense. It was not every young man who could be trusted in such delicate and important transactions, which a spirit of pride, independence, and a regard to the sacredness of character, would make every gentlemen in those high offices anxious to conceal; but when so much spirit of slander was abroad, it was necessary, to expose its injustice. Those whose diplomatic services had been long known, and who had recommended themselves to all parties—who had risen through many inferior offices to the eminent stations which they now held, had done services to their country of the highest benefit, and ought, therefore, to be most liberally rewarded. If they were not provided for on such a scale that persons of high ambition could be induced to engage in the same service, justice would not be done to the talent of the country, nor to the country. He had now to state to the House what this reward was, and how the highest merit had been paid by the country; he had this to state on the authority of the Ambassador at St. Petersburg, the Ambassador at the Court of the Netherlands, and the late Ambassador to Spain. One was out of the service; the others had particular missions; theirs was therefore historical evidence upon the subject. Our Ambassador at St. Petersburg wrote to him (Lord Londonderry) when the reduction lately made was communicated that he would submit, but added (that he did not know, how, with such "frightful expenses,"—that was his expression,—he could keep free from embarrassment. (*hear, hear.*) The house in which this distinguished person lived was very moderate, being rented at 1,500l. a year. This was testimony above all suspicion, this eminent person had advanced himself to this station by his success in his former appointment, and because he was acceptable to the Emperor. This clearly showed that he had not been selected for any political purposes. He was of high and eminent character, of high birth, but inconsiderable means, being a younger brother of a numerous family. But Lord Clancarty

applied evidence to the same effect. It would be considered that he (Lord Londonderry) referred to persons of sober and staid character, of great moderation and love of order, who, though they would preserve the dignity belonging to their rank and office, yet would try every call for expenses by the test of reasonableness and propriety. Referring to the expenses of the embassy at St. Petersburg, the Noble Marquis informed the House, that Lord Cathcart, in the seven years during which he had been engaged in that mission, had spent out of his own private fortune a sum, which, if it had been sunk in an annuity for his life, would have produced him 2,000l. a year. The embassy to the Netherlands was not, he allowed, so expensive as that to St. Petersburg; and yet Lord Clancarty, in the first year which he held it, had been obliged to spend 16,000l. and had never spent less than 13,000l. a year since. These facts were sufficient to convince any unprejudiced man that embassies were not offices of that very advantageous nature which some persons described them to be; and he therefore trusted that the House would never consent to such reductions in the salaries attached to them, as would either drive those to ruin who held them, or force them to leave the service immediately. He could also state, upon the authority of Sir H. Wellesley, that he had spent 7,000l. more than the salary allowed him in the seven years during which he acted as Ambassador at the Court of Spain. The same had been done by Sir William A'Court, at Naples, and by his own brother (Lord Stewart), at Vienna. Having said thus much upon the European missions, he would now say a few words upon the other topics which the hon. gentleman had pressed upon the attention of the House. The hon. gent. had said, that the President of the United States did not receive more than 6,000l. a year, and had therefore argued that Mr. Canning must be making money by his mission to America. Now, there was a friend of his in the House (Mr. Antrobus, we believe), who, during the absence of Mr. Bageot, had discharged all the duties of that mission for a year and a half, and who therefore could explain the expenses attached to it. That gentleman, in all probability would address them in the course of the evening, and from him they would learn that the mission to America was attended with very considerable expense. As he had forgotten to mention the fact whilst he was more particularly engaged with that part of the subject, he would now step back for a moment to observe, that he was informed that Mr. Hamilton, whose salary had been reduced to 600l. a year by the reduction of ten per cent., had not been able to obtain suitable lodgings at Naples for less than 850l. a year. And yet there were some individuals to be found who could wish to diminish the salaries which public functionaries of this class received. The cool unfeeling stoicism with which those individuals advised reductions, which were certain of bringing ruin upon the country, and degradation upon the Crown—(hear, hear) was really astonishing; but it would be still more astonishing, if the House of Commons did not, upon the present occasion, turn a deaf ear to their suggestions, as it had formerly upon similar occasions. (hear.) The Noble Marquis, after recapitulating his former arguments, stated that the policy of England was of a pacific nature. The knowledge that peace was our policy, inspired the nations of Europe with amity and good will towards us, and caused us to have greater influence over them than any that we have ever enjoyed at any former period of our history. The influence would be most effectually sustained by having high-minded Ministers at the Courts of the different Sovereigns of Europe. Now it would be impossible for those Ministers to do justice to their country if they were compelled to sink into corners at the Courts at which they resided, from a wish to save the public money. (cheers.) To preserve the influence of their own country they ought to show themselves often to the public of that country to which they were sent. Their houses ought to be the centre of information to all who were able to assist or to grace their mission. (hear, hear, hear, from the Opposition.) He did not mean that they should be the resort of those perturbed and agitated spirits who were anxious to plunge the world once more into confusion. (hear, hear, hear) but of those honest and honourable persons who took a fair and candid view of the present state of Europe. (hear, hear, hear.) He was certain that a vast majority of the nation would always be opposed to any scheme that would make not only the representative of England, but England herself, grovel in the manner which the Hon. Gent. recommended. (hear, hear); and with that impression upon his mind, and also with a strong conviction that the maintenance of the dignity of the crown was intimately connected with the maintenance of the national strength, he would never allow it to be lessened whilst he held a place in his Majesty's councils. The due maintenance of that dignity was our best remedy against ulterior war; and he therefore implored the House not to deprive the country of the moral and physical resource which it thus obtained. (hear.) If the House were to agree to the present motion, and were to appoint a Committee to take into its hands the detailed service of those funds which were usually intrusted to the care of the Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, he should feel himself degraded for ever if he submitted for a moment to continue in office under such a system (loud cheering); if he were to place himself, in such leading-strings, he should be so ashamed of himself, that not only should he feel that he was unworthy to show his face in public, but also that he was unworthy to transact the slightest portion of the public business. (cheers.) He trusted, however, that the House

would pursue a very different course from that proposed by the Hon. Gentleman—he trusted they would not allow him to accomplish that object indirectly, which he seemed loath to attempt directly—he trusted that, if they had not confidence in the individual to whom the administration of foreign affairs was intrusted, they would say so at once, and deprive him of those functions which they deemed him inadequate to discharge. (loud cheers from the Opposition.) He would also call upon the Gentlemen on the opposite side of the house not to assent to this motion. If they wanted a new secretary of state for Foreign Affairs, let them look out for one among their own body. (hear, hear.) He did not think so unfavourably of their talents as to suppose that an individual fitted for the station was not to be found amongst them; and with the integrity that abounded on their benches, they would find no difficulty in discovering a person fitted to control and check that part of the public expenditure. Let them place that control and check in responsible hands, but let them not commit it to the care and vigilance of a committee of either house of Parliament. (hear, hear.) If they did commit it to the care of such a committee, from that moment they excluded the secretary of state for Foreign Affairs from all political influence, and placed him in a species of leading-strings which no man of spirit could tolerate for a moment. (loud cheering from the Opposition.) He should put a direct and positive negative upon this motion, because he was convinced that if it were carried it would be subversive of every thing that was great and glorious in the Constitution.—The Noble Marquis sat down amid cheering as loud and universal as any that we ever heard within the walls of the house.

Sir J. MACKINTOSH would have contented himself with giving a silent vote on this motion, if the discussion had taken the course which it was natural to expect from the clear and temperate statement of his Hon. Friend the Member for Ipswich. His Hon. Friend, however, in reward of the discretion and temperance he had displayed, had been accused of a wish to lay his country grovelling in the dust (hear.)—of an intention to degrade her in the eyes of all Europe (hear)—and of a desire to deprive her of that influence which it was only by Ministers she was supposed to possess. (great cheering.) The Noble Marquis had told the House that if it agreed to his Honourable Friend's motion, it would be usurping a branch of the Executive Government. That any man should venture to make such an assertion to a motion calling upon the House of Commons to institute an inquiry into the public expenditure, was one of these extraordinary novelties which sprung up in every debate that involved either the conduct or character of the present Ministry.—The motion, according to the Noble Marquis, was like wise a motion subversive of all the glorious privileges ensured to us by the Constitution. When such language was used to the House of Commons, it was not unworthy its consideration to reflect upon the state to which it was reduced. To what state, then, was the House of Commons, once the master both of Kings and Ministers, reduced at present? It was reduced to such a point that it was obliged to regulate its votes by the pleasure of the Ministers; in other words, it was reduced so low in spirit, that it dared not to come to any vote that would give so much displeasure to Ministers as to cause them to resign. He wished to call the earnest attention of Parliament to this shameful, this serious, this dangerous state of things. They had that night heard what had been often styled the *ultima ratio* of Ministers; they had heard them introduce into the debate a threat of resignation, which had been so often made, that it now created no alarm among their warmest adherents, which, from its constant repetition, had become a subject of ridicule to all parties in that House, and which was now so well understood throughout the country, that it was laughed and jeered at, even by the lowest politicians in the lowest clubs of the metropolis. That threat, which, at one time, was gently insinuated in a dexterous whisper, which at another was carefully circulated in ministerial formality, and which on a third occasion was wrapt up in official ambiguity, so as to leave no doubt of its meaning to any mortal breathing, that threat was now spoken out clearly, because Ministers had no other argument on which they could rely, in pre-tended confidence, but in real and undeniable apprehension. He must implore them to reflect on the situation in which they would place the House, if they timidly gave heed to such a threat from such a quarter. The House of Commons had during the course of its existence, performed greater things than any assembly which had ever existed at any time or in any nation. The House of Commons had sometimes abused its powers—it had changed the religion of State—it had deprived a Sovereign of his crown—it had sent a dynasty into exile, and it had hurled from his pride of place many an imperious and despotic Minister. It was now, however, reduced to hear the present Ministers, who overrated their own merits far beyond any of their predecessors, and who underrated the House of Commons even further than it had ever been underrated in any of the libels published against it—it was now reduced to hear the present Ministers addressing it in a tone of defiance, and saying "If you vote against us, we will throw up our places; and we deem it right to tell you that we think our places of much higher importance than any decision which you, the majority of the House of Commons, may arrive at with all the depth and profundity of your wisdom." So distinct a declaration on the part



of Ministers, he was certain, would never have been made if they had not a firm conviction that a great part of those who usually supported them would differ from them on the present motion. It was a deep game that they were now playing—it was a great stake for which they were now throwing. He could not bring himself to think that the House of Commons would endure a repetition of the threats that had been used that evening. It was a card that could not be often played, and he was certain that it would not have been played that evening had the Minister been able to lay down any other. He would therefore, in the name of the ancient fame of that House, in the recollection of its many great and illustrious services to the country and to the world, in the hope of cementing the body of the nation to it in that confidence which at present it did not enjoy, he would, by all these associations, conjure Honourable Gentlemen to recollect the disgrace which they would entail upon themselves, if by their vote of that night, they preferred the pleasure of Ministers to the gratifications of conscience, and thought it better to bear their yoke than alleviate in the slightest degree the burdens of their fellow countrymen. The Honourable Member, after some observations upon that part of the Noble Marquis's speech which related to the Holy Alliance, to our influence on the Continent, in the course of which he contended, that the circular of the Noble Marquis in 1821 contained stronger language of condemnation, with respect to the political conduct of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, than any that had been uttered against these Powers by Hon. Gentlemen on his (Sir J. M.'s) side of the House, proceeded to consider the case of the Embassy to Switzerland. The Noble Marquis, he said, stated, that there was a strong moral reason for our having an Ambassador in that country. He should not have been surprised at hearing that there was a political reason for such a mission; but he had always been given to understand that a political reason was as distinct from morality as one thing possibly could be from another. (hear, hear.) What, then, was the moral reason of which the Noble Marquis talked so greatly? It was this—that it was greatly for the interest of Europe that the neutrality of Switzerland should be observed, and that we were called upon most particularly to protect it. He would here confess that there three good acts of the Holy Alliance, on which too much praise could not be bestowed—the first was the neutrality of Switzerland, the next the abolition of the slave-trade, and the last their declaration in favour of civil and religious liberty. (hear.) Now, allowing it to be so material that the neutrality of Switzerland should be religiously protected, in what, he wished to know, did that neutrality consist more than in the inviolability of the asylum it afforded to the refugees from the political and religious discords of their own countries? Switzerland had formerly been celebrated as the secure retreat of every martyr to the cause of liberty—of every man whose only crime was to be found in his defeat. (cheers.) Was it not essential to its neutrality that the character which it had held through so many years should still be maintained free from suspicion? Was it not essential that as a place of refuge it should retain its pristine inviolability? Was it not destructive of all those good consequences arising from it, on which the Noble Marquis had descended so largely—was it not destructive of those good consequences, that the Ministers of the Holy Alliance should have assumed the right of entering its territories and delivering up into the hands of their persecutors those whom they thought proper to call criminals merely because they loved liberty and hated oppression? The Ministers of the unholy alliance had committed this nefarious deed—had perpetrated this violation of every principle deemed most holy by all the writers on the law of nations—had turned the hospitality of Switzerland to its disgrace in every canton of that hospitable country. The refugees from Piedmont—and here he must stop to congratulate the Noble Lord on his geographical discovery that Turin was not in Italy. Other geographers generally reckoned Piedmont in Italy, and he thought that the Noble Marquis, when he again looked at the map, might perhaps become a convert to their opinions, especially as the Austrians had now divided Italy into three distinct Provinces for their own convenience. The first was Piedmont, over which the descendant of the ancient Duke of Savoy, or the Tetrarch of Sardinia, as Burke had called him, reigned, subject, however, to paternal control of the House of Austria: the next was Tuscany, over which a member of the reigning family of Austria presided; and last of all came Naples, once an independent kingdom, now a mere province of Austria—held, indeed, under a King who had once sworn to a Constitution, but who had preferred to be the Viceroy of a foreign power, to being the head of a free though limited monarchy. Refugees from all these three different provinces found their way into Switzerland; but there, in spite of its neutrality—there, in spite of the inviolability that ought to have belonged to it as an asylum there, in spite of the sacred rights which, from the most barbarous ages downwards, have been considered to belong to the miserable and suppliant refugees—even there it was attempted to make captives of those whose only crime was their abomination of oppression. (cheers.) Reverting, after some further observations upon this subject, to the more immediate topic of debate, the Honourable Member said, he should now request their attention for a few moments to the expenditure of the United States under this head. The House could not have failed indeed to remark the tone of monarchical contempt in which

the Noble Lord had spoken of that Power and of its expenses. (hear, hear.) It could not, however, but sound a little strangely in the ears of a House of Commons, if their character was not entirely altered—if they still were in reality the guardians of the purse. Were they not themselves understood, and bound to represent the republican part of our Constitution? and was it thus the Noble Lord was inclined to treat America, because her government was a Republic? He would maintain that it was a duty of the House of Commons to act in a republican spirit; and he was not afraid either to set his constitutional doctrine against that of the Noble Marquis, or to compare his zeal and respect for monarchy, with that so anxiously professed on the other side. On behalf of the people, and he spoke of them plainly and without nice or subtle distinction, he asserted that they usurped no part of the executive government by instituting an inquiry into the expenses of this branch of public service. They were bound to act with republican jealousy, not with unguarded confidence, at a time when distress was general, and when complaints were loud and universal. In spite of the regal contempt evinced by the Noble Marquis for the United States of America, she was day by day spreading her pacific conquests, and blessing with her rule a wider extent of territory than absolute monarchy ever cursed. It had been said by the Noble Lord, that offices of this kind, when underpaid, induced unqualified persons to bid for them. Let him (Lord Londonderry) not persuade himself that the assignment of large allowances was the way to prevent corrupt or improper biddings. He did not, it seemed, think it just economy to lower the number or rank of our Foreign Ministers; but the House well knew that other considerations might weigh against such a reduction, and that appointments abroad might sometimes be exchanged for influence at home. He should only remark, in addition, that the Noble Lord had gone into a very long statement of particulars, and brought forward a variety of topics, rather, as it appeared to him, to elude, than to meet the argument of his Hon. Friend. (hear, hear.)

Mr. F. ROBINSON observed, that after listening with unfeigned respect to the Honourable and Learned Gentleman, it was with some surprise that he found, at the conclusion of his speech, that no part of his argument applied to the question before the House; or if it did, in a single point that it was in opposition, and not in support of the motion which he was supporting. With regard to the embassy at the Court of St. Petersburg, the Honourable and Learned Gentleman was satisfied that it ought to be of the highest rank and yet this was the very appointment of which the Honourable Mover had most bitterly complained. (hear, hear.) He was as ready as any person could be to admire the eloquence of the Learned Gentleman, and it had been displayed on this occasion with more than ordinary vehemence, because it was to supply the place of sound and convincing argument (hear,) but a little matter did it furnish for comment or reply on his part that should content himself with reminding the House of what had been already intimated by his Noble Friend, that they ought not to vote for this motion unless they were also prepared for the result. (hear, hear.) So signal a proof of their utter want of confidence would undoubtedly convince his Majesty's Ministers that they were no longer considered fit to discharge the duties of their respective offices, and that they ought to be succeeded by those in whom the House could repose its trust. (hear, hear.) The Honourable and Learned Gentleman had travelled out of the question, in order to arraign the whole system of that foreign policy, which had been pursued for years, and had been sanctioned by successive votes of Parliament, for the express purpose of calling on the House of Commons to support a motion, which they were told unequivocally must, if carried, lead to the downfall of the present administration. (hear, hear, hear.) If the House did not think the present Ministers of the Crown fit to be trusted, was it any insult to them to announce, that his Majesty's Ministers would bow to their decision? When a Ministry was told day after day that they had already lost and deserved to lose, the public confidence, it seemed to him most extraordinary that it should be deemed unconstitutional in them to signify that if it were so, they must withdraw their services. (hear, hear.) This was the substance of his Noble Friend's intimation, and he (Mr. Robinson) thought it far more constitutional than the doctrine by which it was condemned. So extraneous were the topics introduced in the speech just delivered, that wishing to confine himself to the merits of the question, he knew not how, after the argumentative statement of his Noble Friend, to enter into any reasoning that would not appear unnecessary. Those who had heard and watched all the details embraced by his Noble Friend's explanation, and marked how dexterously they were avoided by the Honourable and Learned Gentleman, must, he thought he could trace the feeling in the manner of various individuals, whether accustomed to look with favour or disfavour on the acts of Government, have felt that a more clear or satisfactory defence never was made to a weak, meagre, and imperfect case. (loud cries of hear on both sides.)

Mr. CREEVEY having caught the Speaker's eye, although he rose at the same time as Mr. Tierney, for whom there was a very general call, proceeded to state his intention of detaining the House with a very few sentences indeed. What was the actual state of the case? A motion was made for appointing a Committee to inquire into certain heads of the

expenditure; and this Committee, if appointed, the Noble Lord informed them of his determination not to attend. He conceived this to be a most daring declaration, only to be surpassed by the statement of another Secretary of State, who had declared, that whatever Parliament might resolve he would not advise the Crown to act in conformity with its resolution, or by that Minister who had affirmed the impossibility of governing the House of Commons without corruption. These, indeed, were novelties; it was resolved for the present time to see Parliament thus degraded and insulted by the Ministers of the Crown. Either the House ought to vindicate its character by an assertion of its rights, or to adjourn at once, and no longer pretend to exercise functions that were the subject of ridicule and contempt.

Mr. TIERNEY hoped the House would give him some credit, when he stated his intention of not trespassing many minutes on their attention. His recent habits would not have led him to create this inconvenience, but so extraordinary a speech as that of the Noble Lord would not permit him to give on this occasion a silent vote. The Noble Lord had followed his Hon. Friend who brought forward a motion with much temper and with a view to lessen the present expenditure, with a long and unnecessary dissertation on the foreign affairs and general policy of the country, in which he had, in his (Mr. Tierney's) opinion, been most triumphantly answered by his Hon. and Learned Friend (*hear*). All that he now proposed to say would relate strictly to the question, which was simply whether any saving, and how much, could be effected in a particular department of the public service. That some reductions might be expected from the examination of a Committee, he would be prepared to show. And here he could not but remark, that the Noble Lord forgot what had occurred since the Committee of 1815. In that Committee, an estimate was proposed, it was adopted, and a regular sum was fixed; but the next year the Noble Lord himself came down with estimates of 26,000*l.* less than those fixed by the Committee. Now if that had been the result of a Committee, how, he asked, could it overturn the monarchy? (*hear*). But in this instance, the Committee of the Noble Lord took up all the estimates as they were presented; but he, as if ashamed of his own handy work, came down afterwards and altered it. (*hear*). In another instance, the House knew there was a Minister at Hamburg, with 4000*l.* a year, but it was found that a Consul with 500*l.* would do all the business there just as well and one was sent accordingly. It that had been the result of a Committee, would it have been any thing the worse? No; but a Committee they dreaded above all things, as something unconstitutional. The Right Hon. Gentlemen might smile, but he would defy him to select any Committee, pick and choose them as he might, which would not find that considerable savings might be made, or which would uphold the necessity of all our present embassies, with all their enormous expense. He would, for instance, take that embassy to the Swiss Cantons. It was said, he knew, that there were at all times embassies to those Cantons from other Powers. That Capo D'Istria was there, and that a nephew of the Noble Lord's (Londonderry) friend Talleyrand had been there, as if sending the relative of the Minister was a justification of employing the relative of another; but he would say, that if M. Talleyrand's nephew was sent to the Swiss Cantons under circumstances similar to those under which a Friend of the Right Hon. Gentleman's (Mr. Wynn) was recently appointed the same place, it was as rank a job as had ever been heard out of England. (*hear, hear*). And that a Committee, if appointed to inquire into the subject, would tell the Right Hon. Gentleman the same thing in much stronger terms than those he had used. He said this in the utmost good temper with his Right Honourable Friend (Mr. C. W. Wynn); and if he had not used that term before, it was not from any want of friendly feeling, but sitting at different sides of the House as they now did, the term he had used was much more convenient. He did not quarrel with the appointment of the younger Mr. Wynn to this Embassy, for if any person was necessary for the office, he thought he would be as likely to fill it well as any other; but he did object to the appointment, because he was convinced that it was not only unnecessary, but extravagant, to keep up such an Embassy at such an exorbitant expense, (*hear*) and, as he had said, a Committee would so pronounce it. Formerly we had a Minister at Bavaria, and he also acted as our Representative at Frankfort. Now we had one to each. He did not object to our having a Minister at Bavaria, but in a Committee he would be able to show that it was not necessary for us to keep one at Frankfort at such an expense as we were now incurring. He would not follow the whole of this branch of expenditure item by item; for, under any circumstances, it would be tedious, but particularly so in his hands. He would, therefore, advert only to one or two particulars. First, with respect to the Swiss Cantons.—The house had heard of one person having performed the duties of that office for 250*l.* a year. To be sure the Noble Lord had described that individual as a man transported for his time, and he had added, that the sum given him was less than half of what he ought to have received. Now it might be true that 500*l.* would not be too much, but was there no difference between that and an income of ten times the amount? He would not examine the Noble Lord in the Committee to prove this, but he could easily satisfy a Committee of its extravagance. That all the money taken out of the public purse by those gentlemen was absolutely spent by them

abroad, was not the question, but whether it was necessary that so much should be spent. In Paris he knew the sum paid to our Ambassador was spent, for he had experienced a proof of it, and there was no one who shared the hospitality or enjoyed the conversation of Sir C. Stuart, our Ambassador there, who would not be satisfied that his official income was even exceeded. But then what moral effect did it produce to the nation, that Sir C. Stuart should entertain every Englishman who visited Paris? What possible increase of influence or importance could it procure for this country, that Englishmen were daily eating their way through its Ambassador's income abroad?—(*hear, hear*).—With those gentlemen who looked upon the present motion as tending to overturn the Constitution he would not argue; but if there were those who thought that a saving ought to be made in every department where it could be effected without injury to the public service, he would say, why not go to the Committee and inquire in what manner this could be done? His own firm opinion was, that without any very close pruning of salaries or fees, 50,000*l.* a year might be saved to the country by the inquiries of a Committee. As to the assertion, that economy in our embassies would lessen our respectability with other nations, it was idle and groundless. He believed other nations would be very glad to follow such an economical example. But then in came the Noble Lord's argument—the moral effect of rich embassies. The moral effect was the word he still harped on, and as Prince Metternich and Prince Talleyrand and Count this, and Count somebody else, kept up large establishments for the moral effect, no doubt, we also were to keep up similar extravagance for a similar moral effect. The question, the Noble Lord said, was now whether he should keep his place or not, and this was declared with the view of catching any wavering votes. Now he (Mr. Tierney) did not care whether he was really sincere, or whether it would be possible to find at his (the Opposition) side of the House, any man who would venture into office, after the Noble Lord should have quitted it, but he hoped the country gentlemen, to whom this was held out, would not be frightened by the hacknied threat—When he considered the peculiar character of the present motion, the obvious mode which it presented of making an efficient saving to the country, the necessities of the people calling so loudly for reduction, he trusted he should be in a majority on the present as well as on the occasions of the two Lords of the Admiralty and one of the Postmasters-General. If not, then he would say that the Marquis of Salisbury was an injured man. (*hear, hear*). It was dealing very hardly with that venerable Nobleman, who had so long and so well served his country, and who was still willing to serve it to the end of his life (*hear and a laugh*) that he should have been suffered to go from office, and that no minister offered to go if he were removed. It would seem as if ministers said, "Send off the Noble Lord, if you please, turn him loose in his native woods if you will (*hear and laughter*), we will not accompany him; but touch the Swiss embassy, disturb Mr. Wynn in his new appointment, and then, out we must go, as he is one of our very particular friends, and we cannot stay after him." (*cheers, and much laughter*). He trusted, however, that such a threat would be of no avail in the present case. He would not press the subject farther, but, thanking the house for the attention they had given him, would conclude by voting for the motion.

Mr. C. W. WYNN rose amidst cries of "Question." He was, he said, surprised to hear it maintained on the opposite side of the House, that if Ministers could no longer keep the confidence of the House, they would be wrong in announcing their intention to resign. He had always understood it to be constitutional doctrine, that the loss of the confidence of Parliament ought necessarily to be followed by a resignation of their places by any Ministers. With respect to the motion, he should oppose it, because he thought it would be establishing the dangerous precedent of placing a Committee of that House, like a Committee of Public Safety, over the Ministry for Foreign Affairs; for how was it possible to come at the points sought for, if the motion were carried, without an examination of the Ministry? His Learned Friend (Sir James Mackintosh) had asked what the House of Commons was for, if not for inquiries of the present description? Now he would defy his Hon. and Learned Friend to prove, in any one instance, that a Committee had ever exercised such a control over a Ministry, as this examination would necessarily imply.

Mr. ANTROBUS made a few remarks, but not a word of what he said was audible in the Gallery.

The House now became very impatient for the division, and Mr. LENNARD briefly replied.

Strangers were then ordered to withdraw. The House divided, when there appeared—

For the motion, 147—Against it, 274—Majority, 127.

#### CATHOLIC PEERS' BILL.

When strangers were re-admitted, we found the Speaker putting the question on bringing up the Report on the Catholic Peers' Bill. The Report was received, the amendments in the Committee agreed to, and the Bill ordered to be read a third time on Friday.

The other Orders of the Day were disposed of, and the House adjourned at a Quarter before One.



# ASIATIC DEPARTMENT.

—461—

## Distressed Irish.

*Speech of Sir Francis Macnaghten to the Meeting assembled at the Town Hall, on Wednesday, the 3d instant, to consider of the best means of affording Relief from hence, to the distressed Peasantry of Ireland.*

GENTLEMEN,

I am most happy to observe that this is not taken up as an Irish question—there is not indeed any thing of Nationality belonging to it. From the appearance of this meeting, and the views of the Committee, it is evident that the cause excites an universal interest, in which the Irish here can take but a small comparative part.—It is a question of Humanity, and will therefore be considered by this community as the cause of mankind.

To raise a supply at all commensurate with the exigency of this case is, I am sorry to say, far from my expectation—but I hope we may, by the most active and zealous exertions, succeed in supplying such a fund as may sensibly relieve the very poorest of the poor from the pressure which is now felt by them with intolerable severity.

I know it has been proposed to make a contingent provision for the disposal of the funds to be raised in this country, and to appropriate them to another purpose in case they should not be required for the actual wants of the poor in Ireland. There cannot be any objection in the abstract to our acting out of an abundance of caution; but I am very apprehensive that such a provision, altho' absolutely unnecessary, may nevertheless be injurious in its effects. It is I think certain, that many may be induced to withhold their subscriptions, and more to reduce their amount, if they are led to believe that there is a doubt of the money being required for the immediate object. It is therefore as it appears to me injudicious to raise a doubt, if we have good reason to believe that none can possibly exist.

For my own part I feel certain, that the actual wants of the people, when our funds reach Europe, will demand much more than those funds can possibly supply, and I think every man who considers the subject, will join in this opinion.

The Parliament has been applied to for £50,000, and it has been granted. I confess when I heard of this pitiful sum, I felt it as a death-blow to my hopes. If half a million had been asked, I persuade myself it would have been voted of course. I am certain that the Economists (who, to say the least of them, are by no means the most useless members of the Legislature) would have discriminated widely between the aids that are demanded by Prodigality and Pomp, and the supplies that are solicited for Sickness and Hunger.—£50,000 is all that has been obtained from Parliament!—That the people of England have been most munificent and noble in their subscriptions, we have every reason to believe; but there is nothing from which we can infer, that any thing like Half a Million of money has been obtained for the entire relief of the Sufferers.—It is impossible that even the sum of Half a Million could have yielded an effectual relief, or any thing like an effectual relief.—Let us but take a cursory view of the Sufferers, and we cannot fail to be convinced of the fact.—We have a Report from the County of Clare, and it appears that there were upwards of 49,000, nearly 50,000, not in a state of want according to the ordinary acceptation of the word; but literally in a state of absolute destitution, actually without the means of prolonging their subsistence—perishing from a want of victuals to keep (according to the common phrase) their souls and their bodies together. Those who gave this melancholy detail have very unnecessarily added, that the number of Sufferers must inevitably increase. It was unnecessary to add it, for it is a corollary which must have followed from the fact in every man's mind. There are to be added the Counties of Cork, Tipperary, Galway, and Mayo, and above all, Kerry, which we learn from undoubted Authority to be at least as distressedly circumstanced as any other County in the kingdom. Here, then, we have six Counties, and supposing each to have 50,000

inhabitants, situated at the time the County of Clare Report was made, as the inhabitants of that County then were, it is surely a most moderate conclusion that there were within two months of that period at least 500,000 people in the six Counties, utterly without the means of subsistence. I very much doubt if the sum of £500,000 was raised together for the relief of such an immense mass of misery. We must believe besides, that the scarcity will extend itself into the adjacent Counties, and that the wants will increase in a proportion infinitely greater than the supplies. We must also recollect, although Englishmen will do more than any others on the face of the earth towards the relief of their suffering fellow creatures, yet that Charity in its nature is active and ardent, and it cannot be expected from the constitution of man, that its zeal will continue unabated and remain in the full force by which it was set in motion at the first impulse. We may add to this, that on a supposition of the most favorable harvest, its produce must in effect fall greatly short of the produce of a year which had not been preceded by famine. There are many causes which will conspire to produce this effect: supposing a supply of seed, oats, and potatoes, to have been furnished, could it be expected that the wretched people would commit them to the ground if they were necessary to appease the cravings of their present hunger? A much smaller quantity of grain and potatoes will be cultivated, but this is not all. As soon as the potatoes, the chief support of the people, are eatable, they will be dug up to satisfy the present demand. They then furnish a much less wholesome food, and they do not yield perhaps one-tenth of the produce that they would give if they were left in the ground until they had come to maturity. I could mention many other causes tending to prove the absurdity of expecting that the rigour of hunger can be so relaxed by the time our funds reach Europe as to justify us in forming a hope that they can be applied to any other purpose, than that for which they are expressly raised. I confess it is my wish that any other application of them should not be thought, or at least spoken of, inasmuch as I am convinced it must prove illusory, and cannot answer any purpose but possibly that of diminishing our contributions.

As to the most beneficial mode of applying our Subscriptions, I shall beg leave, as I am upon this subject, to state my humble opinion, which I must admit to be crude and formed entirely from my own judgment, therefore very likely not to be deserving of half the attention to which those will be entitled that we may hear from other quarters\* I think it evident (assuming that the distress must have continued) that it will be much better to have supplies purchased and sent to the scene of suffering, than to furnish the inhabitants with money in order that they may supply themselves. If we give them the money, it would attract the supplies, but they would come to the place subject to two or three different intermediate profits, and increased in their price perhaps not less than 100 per cent. We may direct grain or potatoes to be purchased and supplied at their actual cost, and by such means I should hope that the people will receive twice as much of the necessary article as they would be able to get if they were furnished with money to make the purchases for themselves. It is, however, far from my intention to recommend, and still further to dictate, the most effectual method of carrying that which is the wish of us all into effect. There are many much more conversant on the subject, and my notions from the want of necessary information, must as I feel, be very defective. I have given the matter my best consideration; but as I can only offer the result of my own reflexion, I must feel that it is entitled to but little attention; if I can claim any merit, it is from having endeavoured to do that which I know to be desirable upon all such occasions—I have endeavoured to simplify my motives, and to make them accessible to every man's comprehension.

I must once more advert to a topic which I have touched upon already.† I hope and confidently trust, that there

\* He afterwards moved that the funds be remitted to the Hibernian Society.

† This was spoken of in the earlier part of the Speech, but omitted in this Report.

is not any one who can think of imputing arrogance or presumption to any gentleman who is placed upon the present Committee. A meeting had been invited to assemble in these rooms for the purpose for which we are now met. The Requisition was not made by any ostensible authority, and from some cause the project, however laudable in itself, appeared to have failed. It occurred to some, that such a pursuit ought not to be abandoned, and that notwithstanding one failure success might attend a second effort. I was applied to, as I believe the other Members of the Committee were, to offer our names to the Public (whatever the offer might have been worth) by way of showing that the call for a Meeting had such a sanction. It would have been insolence if we had presumed to go further. We did respectfully but earnestly solicit this Meeting, and I am happy to see that our solicitation has not been made in vain. But I know I speak the sentiments of every Member of the Committee when I say, that this is the utmost extent to which we intended to go. Having been asked for the use of my name, I should not have thought myself justified in a refusal; and I think I may affirm that every Member of the Committee acted on the same principle. It will never, I trust, be imputed to us that we set ourselves up as Patrons of such a work, or even as leaders in it. We had no such intention. We all, I believe, well know, that Compassion and Charity are their own best patrons, and that the officious interference of any assumed superiority must operate injuriously to the cause. There was no time to be lost, and nothing can more strongly prove the haste with which the measure was adopted, than my name standing where it does, while the names of many, who would have been much more worthy of a seat on the Committee, are entirely omitted. We did, however, take upon us to solicit this Meeting, and we have succeeded; and here our duties in one sense are at an end. I shall, before I sit down, beg to know from those present, whether or not it is their opinion that the Committee which occasioned their assembling, should (together with others that may be added) be continued in the capacity in which they took the liberty of calling you together.

Whatever numbers may be put upon a Committee, I am of opinion that there will be work for all. It will require great exertion and personal solicitation to make the most that can be made of a Subscription. It is not, I fear, to be expected, that people will come forward to offer their Contributions; we ought not, if possible, to leave any person unsolicited. For my part I shall be happy to be in any respect useful, and proud to be a Beggar in such a cause.

I do not wish to lay Poverty under contribution, but from the lowest circumstances something may be spared. Desperate indeed must be the situation of that man who can afford nothing! Be it ever so little, it will be thankfully received; and he who gives a little from small means is at least equal in merit to him who gives much from abundance. No one ever yet suffered by the exercise of Charity. The widow who satisfied hunger out of her scanty store had her reward. Her oil cruse and her meal barrel were preserved to her unwasted, until the season of plenty came round.

I hope, and I feel confident, that we shall all exert ourselves to the utmost, and leave no source from which any thing can be expected, unexplored. Means will, I hope, be taken to interest the principal Natives of Calcutta on behalf of our undertaking. I expect their aid on the ground of Philanthropy alone, and I am sure they will never be displeased to call the *Irish Sufferers* their fellow-subjects.

During the delivery of the above Address, Sir FRANCIS was frequently interrupted by the warm applauses of the audience. He concluded by moving that the former Committee should be continued.—This motion was carried by acclamation. Sir FRANCIS also particularly alluded to Mr. L. A. DAVIDSON, who had kindly offered his services, and proposed that he should be nominated as a member of the Committee; and finally suggested that any person anxious to promote the benevolent views of the Meeting should be put upon the Committee, on his expressing a wish for the same.

In a desultory conversation which ensued after the passing of the Resolutions, Mr. J. PALMER said, that the best mode would be to forward the funds that may be collected to the Hibernian Society, to be disposed of as might appear most advisable. Sir FRANCIS MACNAGHTEN agreed in the propriety of the suggestion, and explained, that he did not mean to recommend sending supplies in kind from this country to the scene of distress.—*India Gaz.*

## Reply to A Writer.

To the Editor of the Journal.

SIR,

In your Paper of to-day, I observe a Letter signed A WRITER, written apparently under very spleenetic feelings, not alone to defend that most respectable body of Public Servants, of which he calls himself a member, for that would have been a worthy motive, but to cast a slur upon the conduct and character of an absent individual, said to be the author of the Extracts from BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE, which lately appeared in the JOHN BULL, entitled "Writers and Writerism." Were that Gentleman (the supposed author) present, there would be no necessity for my taking up my pen to endeavour to remove the invidious censure which has been placed upon him, arising out of his services when Superintendent of an infant Establishment planted in the midst of disease and danger. Had this WRITER worn his own motto "He who lives in a glass house should not throw stones," when smarting with these feelings, and which he recommends so strongly (perhaps justly) to the Calcutta BULL, personality might have been entirely avoided; but there is another old Proverb as applicable to himself, which he should not have forgotten, that "He who casts the first stone, should be prepared for the assault," he should therefore have been armed with Truth, when he made the broad assertion which he has given to the Public, in allusion to Doctor D—'s resignation of his situation as Superintending Surgeon and Residing Manager of the Saugor Island Society's affairs, *from ill health*. This WRITER must have known, or at all events ought to have made himself acquainted with, the cause of this resignation, which he calls a dismissal, before he took upon himself so unqualified an assertion; and in the absence of the party commented on, he (the WRITER) has, to say no more, shewn a want of delicacy, indeed of generosity, in his mode of beating to arms against a man, not an enemy, one would suppose from his Epistles, but a contributor to the Public of a few lines shewing no personality, no animosity, but a little toil, perhaps as much truth, and a greater portion of mirth and good will. I am now however speaking to the Public; to them I will merely say, (and I should wish the WRITER had had the same information) that I know from positive proof, the late Superintendent of the Society's affairs alluded to, (in my opinion so severely and unjustly attacked) derived no benefit from his situation, for his salary but barely paid his expences, and he retired from his thankless post with the honour of having established a new and rising Colony, without the addition of a farthing to his purse, suffering under one of the severest fevers ever felt in India, short of depriving its victim of life, but with the satisfaction of knowing that "he did his duty."

I am, Sir your obedient Servant

Calcutta, October 3, 1822.

ESCLAPIUS,

## CALCUTTA BAZAR RATES, OCTOBER 3, 1822.

	BUY....	SELL
Remittable Loans, .....	Rs. 19 13	19 0
Unremittable ditto, .....	12 0	11 12
Bills of Exchange on the Court of Directors, for 12 Months, dated 31st of December 1821, ..	28 0	27 0
Ditto, for 12 months, dated 30th of June 1822, ..	26 0	25 0
Ditto, for 18 months, dated 30th of April, .....	23 0	22 0
Bank Shares, .....	4550 0	4450 0
Spanish Dollars, per 100, .....	205 12	205 4
Notes of Good Houses, for 6 months, bearing Interest, at 6 per cent.		
Government Bills, Discount .....		at 3-8 per cent.
Loans upon Deposit of Company's Paper, for 1 to 3 months, .....		3-8 per cent.



**Facts—not Assertions.**

*To the Editor of the Journal.*

Sir,

If "A WRITER" in this morning's JOURNAL is desirous, that the Public should not be *mis-informed*, I will supply him with a few *facts* in reply to his *assertions*.

1.—The individual to whom he alludes as the supposed Author of the Extracts from BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE did not come to India as an Adventurer, but as Surgeon of a private Ship commanded by his brother, a Lieutenant, now a Commander in the Navy, being himself an Assistant Surgeon on the half-pay of a King's Regiment then and still in India, and the chief object of his visiting this country being to exchange to the full pay of his Corps when an opportunity offered.

2.—He was *not* first brought into notice by being the supposed Author of any pamphlet, but from his first arrival in India his connections introduced him to Society at least equal to that of the Buildings. He was soon brought further into notice (as you, Sir, must be aware,) by being appointed Editor of a Newspaper.

3.—He was received "with all the warmth of Indian Hospitality" at a *relation's* house in Chowringhee, where he lived for two years, and when on this relation's departure he *kept house himself* in the Buildings, his table was as open to his friends, as theirs to him.

4.—His abilities have been generally acknowledged; and as for the coarseness of his manners, or rudeness of his speech, they seemed in the opinion of his friends in the Buildings to be more than compensated in the good things of his table—Twice that I visited him *in health* there, these friends did justice to the warmth of his hospitality. In an almost constant attendance upon him subsequently during an *illness of many weeks*, I was not to the best of recollection ever brought in contact with any of the same party.

5.—The illness above mentioned, in the course of which his Medical attendants more than once despaired of his life, was by them attributed to his free mode of living, and more free exposure of his person in his capacity of Superintendent of the Society of which your Correspondent makes mention.

6.—From that appointment he was *not* dismissed; but upon quitting a sick bed to embark for England, in compliance with the directions of his physicians, he *resigned* his situation; punctually settling his accounts with the Society, and with his Agents, and giving neither them nor any Individual an opportunity of questioning his integrity and honor; of which your Correspondent may inform himself by a few enquiries, if he has candour sufficient to make him anxious to retract a purely gratuitous and not very amiable supposition of his own, which is *inconsistent with truth*.

Your Correspondent would have done better to confine his personal attack to the "*Acting Editor*" of JOHN BULL, who has no *authority* for stating my absent Friend to be the Author of the Extracts in question, nor for making the application he has done, of the Individual Characters.

In conclusion, I have uniformly heard my Friend express himself in terms of the highest esteem for his acquaintances in the Buildings, particularly those Gentlemen pointed out by the "*Acting Editor*," and feel assured that to say or write any thing injurious to their feelings or character would be the last thing he would think of.

As I detest a *paper war*, if your Correspondent desires any further information as to my Friend or myself, you may give him my name and address.

Calcutta, Thursday, October 3, 1822.

A SUBSCRIBER.

**HIGH WATER AT CALCUTTA THIS DAY.**

	H.	M.
Morning.....	6	27
Evening.....	6	53

**Acting Editor of John Bull.**

Reverting to the Letter of "A WRITER," inserted in our Paper of yesterday, we have authority to state that the present Acting Editor of JOHN BULL was not the Author of the paragraph therein alluded to, as he only took charge of the Paper on Monday, and the paragraph in question appeared in the Paper of that day, so that it must have been written on Sunday. The WRITER appears also to have had some other person in his eye than the real Acting Editor, to whom some portions of his Letter do not apply; but indeed, so many different persons had been named as succeeding to the important duty of keeping the Paper afloat till the absent Editor returned, that it is not at all to be wondered at. The Gentleman who has undertaken it, has done so, we hear, quite as a temporary assistance, till some one of more leisure and inclination can be found to superintend the Publication, and under these circumstances the indulgence of the Public will no doubt be cheerfully extended till things are put on their original footing again.

**Dreadful Gale at Bombay.**

Bombay, September 4, 1822.—The rains commenced this year so unusually early, that from the quantity which had fallen up to the date of our last number, we naturally concluded they had nearly finished their inundating course; and that the remnant would be moderate and gentle, not exceeding the quantity that was necessary for agricultural and other purposes. From that day to the 31st ultimo, however, the rain fell with little or no intermission, and on the night of the latter day, the storm raged with its utmost violence!—With the morning of the 31st, the gale gradually moderated, when it was found, that the damage in the Harbour was by no means equal to what had been apprehended!—We are concerned, however, to learn, that the Ships ELIZA and ASIA FELIX drifted from their anchorage, and were wrecked; the former on Cross Island, the latter off Mazagon. The ELIZA was insured to her full amount.—A large Ketch having on board treasure, to a considerable amount, belonging to native Banyans of this place, bound to Bhowunggar, also drove and went down off Cross Island, but we are happy to find that the principal part of the money has been recovered. Another vessel, a Brig, was more fortunate; she dragged her anchors and rode over the reef of rocks which project N. E. from Butcher's Island without touching any thing, and brought herself up at safe anchor in good ground to leeward of (and protected by) the reef towards the Neat's Tongue. Such are the tidings that have reached us, with this addition, that every ship in the Harbour had sustained some loss in anchors and cables, or were otherwise injured; that many vessels which had left it had been forced back; that 3 or 4 Pattamars, it was feared, had foundered, and sometimes had been lost.

The interior of the Island presented a most melancholy and distressing picture. Trees were seen levelled in every direction, many of which in their fall, had brought down the dwellings of their owners. It may not be uninteresting here to describe a most Providential circumstance, among, no doubt, many which have not reached us. A Carriage in passing the road into Town on the morning of the 31st was struck about the centre of the roof by a falling Coconut Tree, by which the vehicle was dashed to pieces, and yet the Passenger, a respectable Parsee merchant, received but a slight blow on the hand, while the Coachman and horses escaped totally unhurt.

Within the Fort, the Houses in general, from being composed of the most durable materials, have gone uninjured, but a few solitary Trees have been broken down, and in that number, a very remarkable one near to the Church gate, which it is said, has stood its ground upwards of a century; a circumstance, which among many others, is a strong test of the violence of the last storm.

The gale of November 1803 (which is fresh in our recollection,) and which caused such extensive destruction to the Shipping, was not more severe, we are of opinion, than the one in question.

There has been much more destruction amongst the Hamlets and Oarts this year:—therefore, that the Shipping Should have suffered comparatively so much less, is owing solely, we conceive, to the present efficient state of our fine Harbour.—*Bombay Gazette.*

**PRICE OF BULLION.**

Spanish Dollars, .....	Sicca Rupees	205	0	4	206	0	per 100
Dubloons, .....		30	8	4	31	8	each
Joes, or Pezas, .....		17	8	4	17	12	each
Dutch Ducats, .....		4	4	4	4	12	each
Louis D'Ors, .....		8	4	8	8	5	each
Silver & Franc pieces, .....		190	4	4	190	8	per 100
Star Pagodas, .....		3	61	4	3	7	6 each
Sovereigns, .....		9	8	4	10	0	
Bank of England Notes, .....		9	8	4	10	0	

## Shipping Arrivals.

## CALCUTTA.

Date	Names of Vessels	Flags	Commanders	From Whence	Left
Oct. 3	Duke of Bedford	British	E. Oakes	Bencoolen	Sept. 19

## MADRAS.

Date	Names of Vessels	Flags	Commanders	From Whence	Left
Sept. 10	Alfred	British	Doigo	Rangoon	Aug. 1
11	Neptune	British	W. E. Edwards	Batavia	Aug. 4
11	Zenobia	French	J. Peick	Bordeaux	Apr. 29
11	Georgiana	British	R. Babcock	Calcutta	Aug. 6
14	Union	British	A. Fournier	Mauritius	June 24
15	Fort William	British	A. Glass	London	May 22

## Shipping Departures.

## MADRAS.

Date	Names of Vessels	Flags	Commanders	Destination
Sept. 6	Thalia	British	J. Haig	Calcutta
9	Molra	British	W. Hornblow	Calcutta
9	Reliance	British	M. Pike	Masulipatam
9	Hope	British	J. T. E. Flint	Calcutta
9	Hashmy	British	J. J. Denham	Calcutta
9	Earl Kellie	British	R. Edmonds	Calcutta
10	H. M. S. Tees	British	T. Coe	on a Cruise
10	H. M. Sch. Cochlin	British	E. Tincombe	on a Cruise
11	Duke of Lancaster	British	J. Davis	Liverpool
11	Aram	British	J. Daniels	Rangoon
11	Elizabeth	British	G. Vint	Calcutta
11	Larkins	British	H. R. Wilkinson	Calcutta
11	Highland Lass	British	C. W. Eaton	Coringa
15	Lady Kennaway	British	C. Beach	London
15	Swan	British	T. Ross	Negapatam

## Stations of Vessels in the River.

## CALCUTTA, OCTOBER 2, 1922.

At Diamond Harbour.—CAMOENS, (P.) and FELICITAS, outward-bound, remain;—FORT WILLIAM, EARL KELLIE, and HASHMY, inward-bound, remain.

Kedgerie.—BARONESS VANDER CAPELLON, (Dutch),—UPTON CASTLE, outward-bound, remains.

New Anchorage.—H. C. Ships PRINCE REGENT, and ASIA.

The LARKINS arrived at Cooley Bazar on Wednesday.

## Births.

On the 2d instant, Mrs. J. A. WILLIAMS, of a Son.

At the Presidency, on the 2d instant, the Lady of Major CROKER, Assistant Adjutant General of His Majesty's Troops, of a Daughter.

In Fort William, on the 2d instant, the Lady of Captain H. W. WILKINSON, Fort and Town Adjutant, of a Son.

On the 1st instant, the Lady of J. C. BURTON, Esq. of a Son.

At Benares, on the 25th ultimo, the Lady of Captain W. H. WOOD, Commanding the Benares Levy, of a Daughter.

## Deaths.

On the 2d instant, ELIZA JANE, the Daughter of Captain A. B. FRASER, of the Ship VALLETTA, aged 1 year, 6 months and 22 days. "Suffer the little children to come unto me and forbid them not, for of such is the Kingdom of God."

On the 2d instant, Mr. JAMES COLLINS, aged 38 years.

At Delhi, on the 6th ultimo, Conductor JOHN HANLEY, of the Ordnance Commissariat.

At Bencoolen, on the 12th of July, the Reverend CHRISTOPHER WINTER, Chaplain, leaving a widow and two daughters; his patience and meekness during the illness which preceded his death, were most exemplary; he left this world with the confirmed assurance of the efficacy of his Saviour's merits, and he bore with him the respect and esteem of all who knew him.

At Camberwell, on the 4th of May, Master EDMUND HIGGINS, aged 8 years, Son of Mr. J. W. HIGGINS, of the Honorable Company's Bengal Pilot Service.

At Masulipatam, on the 22d of August, Captain CHARLES WADDELL, Paymaster, Hyderabad Subsidiary Force.

At Madras, on the 9th ultimo, ANTONIA, the Wife of Mr. MANUEL DE SOUZA.

## Commercial Reports.

(From the Calcutta Exchange Price Current of yesterday.)

		Rs. As.	Rs. As.
Cotton, Jaloan,.....	per maund	13 0 a	13 8
Cutchoura,.....		10 8 a	12 4
Grain, Rice, Patna,.....		2 2 a	2 4
Patchery, 1st,.....		2 4 a	2 8
Ditto, 2d,.....		1 14 a	2 0
Moongy, 1st,.....		1 6 a	1 7
Ditto, 2d,.....		1 5 a	1 6
Ballum, 1st,.....		1 7 a	1 8
Wheat, Dooda,.....		1 2 a	1 2
Gram, Patna,.....		1 0 a	1 1
Dhall, Urruhr, good,.....		1 7 a	1 8
Saltpetre, Culme, 1st sort,.....		5 12 a	6 0
2d sort,.....		5 0 a	5 4
3d sort,.....		4 0 a	4 8

**Indigo.**—The market has been very quiet since our last—the quantity of the new crop that has yet arrived is very trifling—we heard of a small sale of very inferior Jessore two days ago, at 293 rupees, in bond—higher offers have been made and rejected for finer qualities.

**Cotton.**—Continues dull, and sales confined principally to native, for country consumption. At Mirzapore it appears to have risen a little: the prices quoted on the 24th ultimo, for new Bandah was 19-8, for Jaloan 18-3, and for Cutchoura 16-4 per local maund. At Jeagunge, on the 26th of September, new Bandah was stated at 15-8 to 16-12, Jaloan at 14-4 to 14-8, and Cutchoura at 12-8 to 13 per maund—sales during the week 45,000 maunds, all for country consumption—stock 56,000 maunds.

**Saltpetre.**—Continues in fair demand: we have no alterations to state in prices—a heavy stock in the market.

**Sugar.**—Has been rather dull this week.

**Grain.**—Generally in limited demand—sales going on at our quotations.

**Piece Goods.**—The market has been rather languid since our last, but prices continue firm at our quotations.

**Munjet.**—Has advanced about one rupee per maund, since our last—sales have been effected in it this week at our quotations.

**Spices.**—Pepper continues in fair request, at our quotations—Mace and Nutmegs in limited demand—Cloves firm at our quotations, and sales going on in them—Ginger has advanced considerably since our last, and in brisk demand.

**Metals.**—Iron and Steel steady at our quotations—Sheet-Copper looking up, and the stock decreasing—Pig-Lead advancing: sales are going on in it at our quotations—Tutenague and Spelter in good demand, considerable quantities have been exported lately to the west of India.

**Europe Goods.**—The market continues very heavy—our quotations are almost nominal—Fine Table Cutlery may now be quoted at 40 to 50 per cent. advance—In coarse Woolens, scarlet bears the highest price.

**Freight to London.**—On Ships now under despatch, may be stated at £3-10 to £6 per Ton.

**Note.**—It being difficult to quote with preciseness the prices of the following Articles, the mode of stating generally, whether they are at an advance or discount, has been adopted, as being sufficient to give a tolerably correct idea of the Market.—The Exchange being at Par.

**References.**—(P. C.) Prime Cost of the Article as Invoiced at the Manufacturer's prices, exclusive of Freight and Charges.—(A.) Advance on the same.—(D.) Discount.

Birmingham Hard-ware,.....	10 a	15 per cent. D.
Broad Cloth, fine,.....P. C.	0 a	10 per cent. A.
Broad Cloth, coarse,.....P. C.	0 a	10 per cent. D.
Flannels,.....	30 a	35 per cent. D.
Hats, Bicknell's,.....	10 a	15 per cent. A.
Chintz,.....	5 a	10 per cent. D.
Cutlery,.....P. C.	0 a	25 per cent. D.
Earthen-ware,.....	45 a	50 per cent. D.
Glass-ware,.....P. C.	0 a	10 per cent. D.
Window Glass,.....P. C.	0 a	10 per cent. D.
Hosiery,.....	0 a	25 per cent. D.
Muslins Assorted,.....	20 a	30 per cent. D.
Oilman's Stores,.....P. C.	0 a	15 per cent. D.
Stationery,.....P. C.	0 a	10 per cent. A.

## CURRENT VALUE OF GOVERNMENT SECURITIES.

Remittable,.....	19 0 a	19 8
Non-Remittable,.....	11 0 a	11 8